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WILLIAM PENN AND THE BI-CENTENARY OF THE FOUNDING OF PENNSYLVANIA

WILLIAM PENN was born in the parish of St. Catherine, near the Tower, London, October 14, 1644. He was the son of Vice-Admiral Sir William Penn, a distinguished commander in the British navy, and Margaret, the daughter of John Jasper, of Rotterdam. Possessing an ample estate, Sir William, at an early period, entered his son upon a course of liberal education, and, while residing in Ireland, sent him, at the age of fifteen, to Christ Church College, Oxford. There he made rapid advancement, being equally noted for progress in his studies and the zeal with which he entered upon athletic exercises; among his associates being John Locke, the author of the "Essay upon the Human Understanding." About this time he became interested in the Quakers, whereupon his father, after treating him with much severity, sent him to travel upon the Continent, whence he returned in 1664, full of theological learning, polished in his manners, and, as described by Pepys, "a most modish person, grown quite a fine gentleman." At the suggestion of his father, he next entered Lincoln's Inn as a student of law, and, in the spring of 1665, when the admiral went to sea with the Duke of York, he tried naval life for a short time. Soon, however, he returned to his legal studies, while, during the ravages of the plague, his serious impressions were revived. Discovering this, his father sent him to Ireland, to the vice-regal court of the Lord Lieutenant, where, evincing much energy during a mutiny, the Duke of Ormond wished to make him a captain of foot, an offer which he was not altogether unwilling to accept, as he now felt the kindlings of martial glory. At this period was painted what is said to be a portrait of Penn, taken from life, the well-known portrait representing him in armor. Nevertheless, he soon became engrossed in the management of his father's Irish estates, and thus, while in Cork, met Thomas Lee, the Quaker preacher, whom he had known at Oxford. At the meeting of Friends which Penn attended, Lee commenced his discourse by saying, "There is a faith which overcomes the world, and there is a faith that is overcome

by the world." The die was now cast, for Penn says, that "it was at this time that the Lord visited me with a certain sound and testimony of his Eternal Word." He was, therefore, at once drawn into close fellowship with the Friends, to whom he gave his full confidence, telling "of my persecution at Oxford, and how the Lord sustained me in the midst of that hellish darkness and debauchery; of my being banished the college; the bitter usage I underwent when I returned to my father—whipping, beating, and turning out of doors." At eighteen his principles secured the compliment of being thrust into Cork Jail, when he wrote a letter to the Earl of Orrery, saying, "Religion, which is at once my crime and mine innocence, makes me a prisoner," and laying down the germs of those principles of toleration which he afterward taught. The earl replied by giving an order for his immediate release, when his father, hearing of what had happened, called him home, and began anew the task of reclaiming him from Quaker opinion, offering every inducement that wealth and station could supply, though in vain, the young disciple of Lee refusing, it is said, so much as to take off his hat in the presence of the Duke of York, being resolved to reserve that degree of deference for God alone, though he continued to wear his sword and gay apparel. Accordingly, at the age of twenty-three, he was once more expelled from his father's house. Subsequently, at the instance of his wife, the admiral allowed him to return, but he gave him no countenance or support in his peculiar opinions. At the age of twenty-four he began to preach, and soon got himself put into the Tower, as he says, "for a book I writ called the 'Sandy Foundation Shaken.'" The "Sandy Foundation" which he undervalued was composed of the principles of "one Thomas Vincent, a dissenting minister," and not those of the Tower, which he could hardly shake, and, accordingly, was obliged to lie there nine months for his free use of printer's ink. The irrepressible young preacher, with the best of intentions, next found his way to Newgate, and went thence to the dock of the Old Bailey, where he was fined and recommitted in default. At this time, however, his father's life was drawing to a close, and, being conscious of the fact, he secretly sent the money required to pay the prisoner's fine, called him to his bedside, and parted with him in peace, his son inheriting his estate, worth £1,500 per annum. Next Penn underwent six months in Newgate for speaking in an unlawful assembly; after which he visited Holland and Germany. Returning from the Continent in 1672, being in his twenty-eighth year, he married Gulielma Maria Springett, daughter of Sir William Springett, of Darling, in Sussex. This young lady was not only beautiful in person and possessed of an ample estate, but was esteemed, we are told, of extraordinary merit and great sweetness of temper.

Penn, writing to his children, spoke of it as "a match of Providence's making," saying that "she loved him with a deep and upright love, choosing him before all her many suitors." The happy pair, who were entirely one in their principles, went to live at Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire. Still he continued active in disseminating the principles of the Friends. In 1673 the Declaration of Indulgence, sent forth by Charles in 1672, was revoked, whereupon he was subjected to fresh persecution, though he succeeded in keeping out of jail. In 1675 he became interested in American colonization, and reached the second great turning-point in his life; acting as arbitrator between Fenwick and Byllinge, in the settlement and sale of West New Jersey, both being members of the Society of Friends, Lord Berkeley having sold one-half of the province of New Jersey to Fenwick, who held it in trust for Byllinge and his assigns. The matter was finally adjusted, when Fenwick embarked with his family and some friends, and took possession of land assigned to him on the Delaware, landing at a "pleasant rich spot," to which they gave the name of "Salem." Their ship, the Griffith, was the first English vessel that reached West New Jersey, whither eight hundred emigrants, mostly Friends, came in 1677-78.

The colony of Maryland, however, had been founded in 1634, while prior to this time, in 1623, the Dutch had commenced a settlement at Fort Nassau, where Timber Creek enters the Delaware. In 1631 they also settled near Cape Henlopen. In 1638 a colony of Swedes, under Governor Minuit, built a fort at Christeen, and in 1643 the Swedish Government sent three ships of war to enforce their claims to the western shore of Delaware River and Bay. In 1655 the Swedes capitulated to the Dutch, who held possession until the capture of New Netherland, in 1664, when the English succeeded in authority. This territory was included in the grant made by Charles II. to his brother, the Duke of York, who, in 1664, assigned the tract lying east of the Delaware River to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, from the former of whom Fenwick and Byllinge obtained their grant. But as these matters do not call for discussion here, it may be said simply, that the colony of West Jersey prospered under the management of Penn and his associates. Indeed whereas, under the former control, every colonist was obliged to provide himself with "a good musket, Powder and Balls," the Friends were safe with no other defence than that provided by the practice of mercy, justice, and truth. In the meanwhile Penn visited the Continent, and upon his return appeared before a committee of Parliament, arguing that his religious associates in England should be exempt from oaths. He also took an interest in politics, siding with the Whigs, who, with the Tories, took their name at this period.

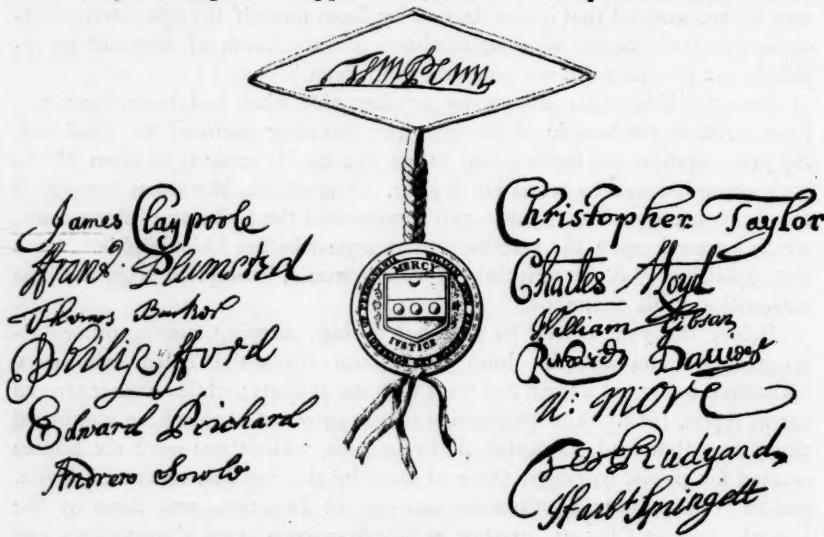
In 1680, having now for many years been interested in New Jersey colonization, gaining thereby much valuable experience and information, Penn applied to Charles II. to grant him a tract of country lying north of Maryland, being bounded on the east by the Delaware, on the west limited as Maryland, and northward "to extend as far as plantable." He asked for this grant in lieu of the sum of £16,000 due to his father from the British Government. The scheme was objected to by Sir John Werden, agent of the Duke of York, on the ground that the territory west of the Delaware belonged to the Government of New York, especially the New Castle Colony. It was known as Delaware County, and was occupied promiscuously by Swedes, Finlanders, Dutch, and English. The agent of Lord Baltimore wished that the grant, if made, might be restricted to lands north of Maryland. The Duke of York, however, favored Penn, and, March 4, 1681, the patent was signed. This venerable document, written on parchment, having the lines underscored with red ink, is now preserved in the Department of State, at Harrisburg, being handsomely decorated with heraldic devices. Penn was highly elated, and in a letter to Robert Turner said, respecting the name of his province, that "Pennsylvania" was "*a name the king would give it* in honor of my father. I chose New Wales, being, as this, a pretty hilly country, but Penn being Welch for *a head*, as Penmanmoire in Wales, and Penrith in Cumberland, and Penn in Buckinghamshire, the highest land in England, [he] called this Pennsylvania, which is the *high or head woodlands*; for I proposed, when the secretary, a Welchman, refused to have it called New Wales, *Sylvania*, and they added Penn to it; and though I much opposed it, and went to the king to have it struck out, altered, he said it was past, and would take it upon him; nor could twenty guineas move the under-secretary to vary the name; for I feared lest it should be looked on as a vanity in me, and not as respect in the king, as it truly was, for my father, whom he often mentions with praise." Still, it is popularly supposed that the name was in honor of the son. The preamble of the charter declares that Penn's application arose out of a commendable desire to enlarge the British empire, and promote such useful commodities as may be a benefit to the king and his dominions, and also to reduce savage nations, by quiet and gentle manners, to the love of civil society and the Christian religion. The charter consists of twenty-three articles, and Penn was made absolute proprietor under the king, holding in "free and common socage, by fealty only." He was to pay the king two beaver skins annually, and these were to be duly delivered at Windsor Castle. He was also to pay the king one-fifth of the gold and silver that might be found. With the consent of the freemen, Penn was empowered

to make all necessary laws, appoint magistrates and judges, and exercise the power of pardon, except for the crimes of murder and treason, though in this respect he had the power to reprieve. The king was to levy no taxes without the consent of Parliament or the people. Penn was made a captain-general, with full powers on land and sea ; while, on the application of twenty inhabitants to the Bishop of London, a "preacher" should be permitted to reside in the province. By a "preacher" was meant a clergyman of the Church of England. In the face of this provision, we are told by Gordon, about "the spirit of freedom which breathes through this charter," and we are assured that it was drafted by Penn himself, though Janney concedes that "the clause allowing ministers of the Church of England to reside in the province did not emanate from Penn."

Next the king made known by proclamation what had been done, and Penn wrote to the people of the province, assuring them of his good will, the proclamation and letter being taken out by his cousin, William Markham, commissioned to act as his deputy. August 1st, Markham bought of the sachems an ancient royalty, and commenced the building of Pennsbury, which entered upon the race more than a year before Philadelphia. Penn also published "A Description of Pennsylvania," compiled from the best authorities at his command.

Before the year closed he sent out a ship, carrying, among other passengers, William Crispin, John Bezar, and Nathaniel Allen, who were authorized to lay out a town and treat with the Indians ; while another arrived out in April, 1682. The population of the province at that time numbered about two thousand, exclusive of the Indians, while there were six houses erected for public worship ; three of them by the Swedes, one at Christina, one at Wicoco (now Southwark), and one at Tenecum, and three by the Friends, one at Chester, another at Shackamaxon (now Kensington), and another at the Falls of the Delaware. Thus the foundations of society were already laid, the work of Penn being to build, in a sense, on the foundations of others. In drawing up a scheme of government he had the advice of Locke, his fellow-student at Oxford, but he did not always act upon it, being influenced, in the main, by Henry Sidney, and not by Algernon, as popularly supposed. Instead of restricting political rights, liberties, and powers, and seeking to cut off future action on the part of the people, he provided amply for their co-operation, and finally established those principles of administration that remain essentially unchanged to-day. Sidney thus proved his guide and mentor. His frame of government consisted of twenty-four articles, and was followed by a code of laws. It was signed in England by the governor and freemen, May 6, 1682.

His plan, we are told, recognized "the great principle of religious liberty," already proclaimed in Rhode Island and Maryland, but that "it was reserved for Penn only to give it a clearer expression and wider field of action. The privilege allowed to every man of worshipping God according to the dictates of his own conscience, is not placed on the ground of humane toleration, but established as an inherent right," except, of course, for "preachers," not one of whom, according to the charter, must be maintained in Pennsylvania, even by nineteen conscientious men. There must be twenty, making formal application to the "Bishop of London." Penn



THE SEAL AND SIGNATURES.

drew up his plan the same year that the first Episcopal church was organized in Boston, where freedom of selection prevailed for less than the canonical twenty; while at the founding of Boston by the Colonists of 1630, the principles of liberty were perfectly understood, and men like William Blackstone and Samuel Maverick were made freemen. Nevertheless, the people of Boston soon receded from this, and restricted the freeman's rights to the members of the "church." It should be noted, however, that the curious provision of the charter was practically a dead letter, and that nobody cared much whether any "preacher" resided in the colony or not. In 1693 the Royal Charter was annulled, theoretically establishing the Church of England, and, in 1695, Christ Church, whose early records have been lost,

comes into view peacefully, as might be supposed, taking her place as one of the accepted institutions of Philadelphia. It is admitted, however, that there was one great defect in the constitution of Pennsylvania, though one "beyond the power of Penn to avoid or remedy. He held the province as a fief from the Crown ; he was a feudal sovereign, acting as the executive of a democracy, and these two elements were found incompatible." But we must not anticipate.

Having made all his arrangements to visit his province, he drew up a beautiful letter to his wife and children, and embarked at Deal in the ship *Welcome*, August 30, 1682. Penn had made every provision for the comfort of the people during the voyage, yet the small-pox soon broke out, and in mid-ocean nearly every person on board was more or less sick. Thirty of the one hundred passengers died, and the voyage was ever after remembered with a shudder. Arriving in the Delaware before New Castle, October 27th, the following day he produced his deeds from the Duke of York, and received possession of the town and county adjoining by "the delivery of turf, and twig and water, and soyle of the river Delaware." The people of the different nationalities enthusiastically assembled from all quarters and listened with delight to the man who had come with feudal powers, yet promising a free government and all its attendant advantages. He next went to Upland, where he lodged at the Wade Mansion, and changed the name of the place to Chester. He then proceeded to lay out the metropolis which existed in his mind before he left England, the present Philadelphia. We are told that he purchased the land of "three Swedes," by whom it was then occupied. He desired to form here a stately "greene country town." According, however, to Watson's paper in the "Memoirs of the Pennsylvania Historical Society" (iii., pt. ii., p. 128), the land was purchased of the Indians, and not until July 30, 1685, Penn at that time having returned to England. Chalmers, in his "Political Annals" (ed. 1780, p. 644), says that Penn's policy of buying the land of the natives was urged by "the good Bishop of London."

We are told that the first house was finished by George Guest, the owner using it as a tavern under the name of the "Blue Anchor." Some of the early inhabitants lived at first in caves excavated in the banks of the Delaware, places that afterward became the resort of evil doers. Within a few months no less than eighty houses were finished, and the number at the end of the year was about one hundred, besides a fine quay three hundred feet long. Two years later there were six hundred houses. Before the superfluous trees were cut down, the printing press was set up, and in December, 1683, Enoch Flower opened a school in a rude cabin, on the following

terms : " To learn to read, four shillings a quarter ; to write, six shillings ; boarding a scholar—to wit, diet, lodging, washing, and schooling, ten pounds the whole year." Keith, afterward an Episcopal clergyman, became the principal teacher of Philadelphia. William Bradford the printer likewise abandoned Quakerism and became an Episcopalian. Also a " witch " was tried, Penn presiding as judge, the accused finally escaping ; this forming, it is said, the first and last " witchcraft " case in Pennsylvania.

Soon, however, it became apparent that the charter drawn up for Pennsylvania by Penn would not, in some particulars, suffice, and March 30, 1683, a new one was framed by a general committee and signed by the governor. It reduced the council from thirty-six to eighteen, retaining the initiation of bills for the governor and council, but the essential principles remained the same, the real power being vested in the people. While in Maryland Lord Baltimore appointed all officers, high and low, Penn had not the power to make a constable. " I purpose," said Penn, " to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country."

It was about this time that the so-called " Great Treaty " was made with the Indians, which, if made, is correctly described, out of Voltaire's Dictionary, though with tedious iteration, as one " never sworn to and never broken."

We are all familiar with the picture of this glowing " event," which transpired nobody knows when or where. We are told of the beauty of the woodland scene which formed the setting, the noble elm under which the parties assembled, and which stood at Shackamaxon, now Kensington, until thrown down by a storm in 1810. It is described now with minuteness and now with convenient vagueness. As for Penn's dress, it consisted of " An outer coat reaching to the knees," and, if we can believe it, " with buttons ; " also a vest of " other " materials, with " trousers extremely full, slashed at the sides and tied with strings of ribbon ; a profusion of shirt-sleeves and ruffles, and a hat of the cavalier shape (wanting only the feather), from beneath the brim of which escaped the curls of his rich auburn hair ; " notwithstanding ruffles and ribbons were under the ban by the dictum of the Friends.

We read of Markham in the brilliant uniform of a cavalier ; of the old Swedes, in the toggery worn in the camp of Gustavus Adolphus, brought over, no doubt, with reference to some such occasion ; of the Indians in their gorgeous paint and feathers ; of the Quakers in their " sober suits," which at that day were not of drab ; of the sailors in their " peculiar habits," together, as was quite proper, with " several members of the government," and the interpreter, " Captain Cocle," not " Captain Cuttle," who, however,

might a deal better have been invited, as he would have made a "note of it." Still, after all, there should be no doubt, since, conveniently, an old lady, "who was probably an eye-witness of the ceremony," had her spectacled organs of sight fixed on Penn, and described him as "the handsomest, best looking, lively gentleman" she had ever seen in all her born days. By the aid of "Captain Coclé," Penn addressed the red men in their own language, making a speech too long to be reported here. The scene was very impressive. This we know from the picture by West, with its anachronisms, repeated on the subjoined medal struck in honor of the "event."

"It is a scene," we are assured, "celebrated in Europe by painters, poets, and historians," but what is more, it is "ever dear to the young and



WILLIAM PENN MEDAL.

hopeful, and serving on every occasion to point a moral and adorn a tale." From year to year, we are informed by the "venerable historian," Heckwelder—the same Heckwelder who told us how the whites acquired Manhattan Island with a bull's hide—the sachems assembled their children in the woods, "in a shady spot as like as they could find to that in which Penn, their great Onas," conferred with them, "when they would spread out his words or speeches on a blanket or a clean piece of bark, and repeat the whole again and again to their great satisfaction;" reminding us of the story of Elder Faunce, who is described as annually taking his appreciative grandchildren down to the shore of Plymouth, seating them upon the cold "rock," and, as the bitter blast of December blew by, telling them the story of the "Landing," and shedding many "grateful tears," the whole forming an exercise in which the young folk greatly delighted.

Nevertheless William Penn made a treaty. In fact, he made several ; and whether or not he made the particular one celebrated in song and story, is really of very little consequence, compared with his great work in founding a province. We are assured that the treaty under the great elm was not a treaty made for land, as all such acquisitions are recorded. It was a treaty of "friendship ;" but his whole policy formed a treaty of that kind which needs no pictorial emphasis. His action in respect to the Indians was the republication of the Bethlehem proclamation of peace and good will. This noble man, whose principles were the principles of peace, but whose entire life from youth to old age was a constant war with prince and prelate, courtier and king, churchman, Roman Catholic and co-religionist, never had any conflict whatsoever with the children of the forest, who found in him at once a brother, a father, and an unfailing friend. Whoever desires to consider the probabilities, may consult the article in the "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania" (iii., part ii., p. 141) by Du Ponceau and Fisher, and the address of Mr. Shippen (vi., p. 215), on the occasion of the presentation to that Society of a belt of wampum, said to have been given to Penn when the treaty was made.

At a time when all was going well in the province, Penn's wife lay sick in England, while his enemies there were busy. Accordingly he felt that he must at once return, if he regarded the welfare and stability of his government. Therefore, summoning the Indian tribes to meet at Pennsbury, he renewed the pledge of good faith separately with each tribe, gave them much wholesome advice, and left them sorrowing for his departure. While in the country he made treaties with no less than nineteen tribes.

In England he struggled for the greater portion of twelve years. At times he was accused of bad designs. He was also a "Papist." He was brought to trial and barely escaped imprisonment. At times, to avoid the storm, he remained in retirement. In April of the year 1693, William and Mary having succeeded King James, the former took away Penn's authority over Pennsylvania, and attached the government of the province to that of New York, under Fletcher. Yet Penn finally emerged from the cloud, and, August 20, 1696, William ordered Sunderland "to strike the name of Pennsylvania out of the list of condemned provinces." But these struggles do not fall within the scope of the present article, and, therefore, we hasten on to say, that in the meanwhile the storm-centre had shifted to Pennsylvania, where the outcry was swelling against Colonel Markham, Penn's representative. Accordingly, September 9, 1696, he embarked for America with his new wife, Hannah Callowhill, his first wife, the loved "Guli," having died several years before. Upon his arrival at Philadelphia, now grown to a

flourishing town, he was received with great enthusiasm, making his permanent residence at Pennsbury. Concerning the difficulties that he had to contend with in his province, we may simply say that they were largely such as grew out of maladministration in his absence, though the question of raising money for the fortifications, so unpalatable to the Quakers, and the condition of the blacks and the Indians weighed upon his mind. In No-

whitehall 2 - 10 - ^{to} 1702

I do hereby declare & Promise
that I will take no advantage
of the Queens Royal approbation
of Col^t Andrew Hamilton to be
my Lieut^t Govr^r of Pennsylvania
& County^s annexed, in reference
to the Queens Proclamations to the
Govr^mt. of the said lower County^s
after & exception therof.

my Declara
tion^r of
as^r & Plan

PENN'S DECLARATION.

vember, 1700, a new constitution was adopted, and on April 23, 1701, a genuine treaty was made with the representatives of the Five Nations at Philadelphia. In August the money for the fortifications asked for by the king was refused. Soon news came that a plan was afoot in Parliament for the reduction of all proprietary governments; and the members of Penn's family, being no longer pleased with the novel life of America, were anxious to return. He formed his resolution, and sailed October 28, 1702. One

of his later official acts was to create Philadelphia a city, by a charter signed October 25, 1701. Andrew Hamilton was made his deputy, and Edward Shippen became mayor. His representative in 1702 was Andrew Hamilton, who is referred to in the accompanying *fac-simile*, somewhat reduced. Anne was now Queen, but under her reign misfortune pursued him, and in 1712 he mortgaged his province for £12,000. His health was now broken, yet he survived until July 30, 1718, when he expired at his home in Rushcombe, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, being buried in front of the meeting-house, at Jordan's, in Buckinghamshire, where a green mound, indicated by the engraving at the end of this article, marks his grave.

The character of William Penn, as popularly conceived, is, in the main, just, though most persons are inclined to identify him too closely in appearance and manners and mode of life with the modern members of the Society of Friends. Yet, whatever may have been his principles, Penn was, to a great extent—at least for a large part of his life—a courtier and man of the world, the latter phrase being used in its best sense. Indeed, he entertained broad and grand ideas apart from the principles of religious liberty and the needs of his province. His Philadelphia was to be no pent-up Utica, while a boundless continent engaged his thought, as we know from his proposition, made in 1697, to bring all the colonies under one central control, thus forecasting the American confederation. But, turning from this thought, we may notice next that William Penn maintained a style of living in keeping with his position as the governor of a great province. As already stated, he had provided, through Markham, for a fine residence in the American wilderness, furnished with all suitable appointments. To this end the Indian royalty, afterward known as Pennsbury, was bought of the natives. It was situated on the Delaware, above Philadelphia. The estate originally comprised three thousand four hundred and thirty-one acres, the river running around it. Here he built his mansion on what was almost practically an island. The house, with a frontage of sixty feet, faced the Delaware, costing £7,000. The description runs as follows :

" It was two stories in height and of brick. Its appearance was, it is said, stately, and it was entered by a handsome porch and steps. On the first floor was a large hall, probably the whole length of the house, used on public occasions for the meeting of the council and the entertainment of strangers and the Indians ; a little hall, and at least three parlors, all wainscoted, and communicated by folding doors. On the roof was a large reservoir for water, to the leakage of which is attributed, in part, the ruin of the mansion. The outhouses, which were uniform and facing in a line with the house, were, *first*, a kitchen and larder ; *second*, a wash-house ;

third, a house for brewing and baking; and fourth, a stable for twelve horses; all these one story and a half high."

"The mansion was seated on a moderate eminence. A broad walk through an avenue of poplars led to the river, descending from the upper terrace to the lower grounds by a flight of steps. The house was surrounded by gardens and bowers, and the more distant woods were opened in vistas looking down the river and upward to the falls. The proprietor sent out from England walnuts, hawthorns, hazels, fruit-trees, and a great variety of the rarest seeds and roots; while in this country (as we learn from his cash-book) he procured from Maryland several panniers of trees and shrubs, indigenous to that province, and he directed by his letters that the most beautiful wild flowers should be transplanted into his gardens. On the whole, his directions indicate a love of nature and an elegance of taste, which are very remarkable." It appears that the carved doors and window-frames and all the interior decorations of his mansion were carried with him on the Welcome. The furniture is also described as very elegant, and the papers obtained of John Penn, the founder's grandson, give us an idea of the contents of the house in 1701. We read that "In the great hall was a long table, two forms, six chairs, a supply of pewter plates and dishes, with six vessels called cisterns, for holding water or beer. In the little hall, six leather chairs and five maps. In the best parlor, two tables, one couch, two large and four small chairs, four cushions of satin and three of green plush. In the second parlor, one great leather chair, probably used by the governor, one clock, and a pair of brasses. The four chambers on the second floor were well supplied with beds, bedding, chairs, tables, etc. In three of them were suits of curtains, the first of satin, the second of camblet, and the third of striped linen. The garret chambers were furnished with four beds, and in one of the chambers were deposited three side-saddles and two pillions. In the closet were two blankets and two damask curtains for windows." Besides these things there was also a set of "Tunbridge ware," the well-known wood mosaic work, for the manufacture of which Tunbridge has so long been celebrated; together with "blue and white china, some plate and a large supply of damask table-cloths and napkins." Mahogany was not then known, and the spider-tables and high-backed chairs were of solid oak or of the darker walnut.

Owing to the leakage from the cistern at the top of the house it was greatly damaged, and about the period of the Revolution it was taken down. After it fell into decay, Watson says, that one apartment was known as "the Spirit Room, or Haunted Chamber." Watson infers that Penn had a cottage built for him by Markham in Philadelphia, in what came to be

known as Lætetia Court ; but at his second visit, in 1700, he certainly used what is known as the Slate-Roof House, on Second Street, as his city residence. In this house was born John Penn, the only member of the family born in America. Writing from his ship when just sailing for England, September 3, 1701, to James Logan, he says, "Thou may continue in the house I lived in until the year is up." Logan, in fact, lived there until 1704. The house stood until very recent times and witnessed many interesting changes.

Among the recreations of the governor and his family was the occasional attendance at "a fair or an Indian *Cantico*," of both which his cash-book, kept by James Logan, give evidences such as this : "by my mistress at the fair, £2 os. 8d. By expenses given to Hannah Carpenter for a fairing, 8 shillings. By ditto to two children for comfits per order, 1s. 6d. By the Governor going to Cantico, £1 18s. 4d."

Penn is often thought of as a very staid, solemn personage, incapable of bending or taking off his hat, yet the contrary is the truth. He was of a most lively disposition, and from his youth fond of athletic sports. Hence, when he came into the American forests, from taste as well as policy, he entered into the games of the red man with zest, and would run and jump with them in their matches ; which he could not have done, if he had been the original of the stout individual seen in the Treaty Picture by West. Of such a person, essaying the rôle of an athlete, the Indian queens would have been obliged to say, as the Queen of Denmark said of her son Hamlet, "he's fat and scant of breath," though he generally appears upon the stage an attenuated individual with slim legs.

The governor was fond of horses, and like the members of his household, was often in the saddle, but his family travelled sometimes in a coach. He had a calash with which he usually visited the neighboring meetings, and a sedan-chair for town use. Nevertheless, his favorite mode of travel between Pennsbury and Philadelphia was by his barge, evidently a large and stately piece of naval architecture, as would become the son of a great admiral. Of this barge he was exceedingly fond, and in one of his letters, written when absent in England, he speaks of "my barge," which "above all dead things," he hopes nobody uses "on any account, and that she is kept in a dry-dock, or at least covered from the weather."

Philadelphia is now a great and noble city, whose inhabitants are known the world over for their intelligence, culture, and wealth ; and if to-day there is a smaller proportion of those distinctly known as Friends than Penn himself would have wished, the city, as indeed the entire commonwealth, so distinguished for those humane principles which he advocated, may still

be regarded as his monument. Thus the visitor, when seeking for his memorial, may be told as the pilgrim is told in St. Paul's, London, when searching for the monument of the builder—CIRCUMSPICE, Look around you! It may nevertheless be interesting to glance at the small beginning on the bank of the Delaware in 1682. The oldest known formal description of the country written in the Province is found in the letter of one Thomas Paskel, or Paschell, addressed to a friend in England, J. J. Chippenham, dated February 10, 1683; while Penn's description, written in the Province, bears the date of August 16th following. Earlier documents were produced, and are now in existence, but they do not appear to have been committed to print. At least the writer has no knowledge of their publication. The letter of Paskel, therefore, of which I find no English version, is of unique interest. It is found in a rare volume entitled *Recueil de Diverses Pieces Concernant la Pensylvanie*, and was printed at the Hague by Abraham Troyel in 1684. The writer was formerly a resident of Bristol, England, but did not come out on the same ship with Penn, and it might appear from the language of the translator as though he had preceded Penn. He appears to have been a man of some substance, as he brought servants and laborers with him, among whom was a carpenter who died on the voyage, though he rejoices on account of the excellent health of his family. In this respect, they were better off than in England, whither he had no desire to return. After the customary salutations, he says that "William Penn and those of his company have arrived at a good port, and have been received with great approbation, as also at New York, whither he has been, and where he bore himself in a generous manner. There is here a city called Philadelphia, where there is a market, and another at Chester, formerly called Upland, and William Penn is laboring to establish corporations in these cities." He says also: "There are here Swedes and Finns who have dwelt here forty years, having an easy life, on account of the abundance of commodities; but their habits were very mean before the arrival of the English, of whom they have learned manners, and they begin to show a little pride. This is an industrious people, and they employ in their buildings very little iron, and they will build you a house without any other tool than a hatchet; with this instrument they fell a tree and take it in pieces in less time than two other men using a saw; and with this apparatus and some wedges of wood they split the trees and make planks, and such other things as they wish, with much art. They speak for the most part English, Swedish, Finnish, and Holland, and they plant a little tobacco, a little Indian corn; their wives are good managers, and make the most part of the linen they wear; they spin and make cloth." Continuing he says: "This river

the Delaware is beautiful and agreeable, and has many kinds of fish in great abundance. The country which is along the River Delaware is in the neighborhood of one hundred and sixty miles from the sea, and is cultivated for the most part, principally on the Pennsylvania shore, as also along the little rivers, by the Swedes, Finns, and Hollanders, among whom are the English who also come to serve, buying habitations among them. Thus some take place on the great rivers and some on the little, and others go a little farther, seven or eight miles away into the wood." "Thomas Colburn has gone to dwell in the woods three miles away, or one hour by road. He is in a good situation and has already gained fourteen acres of wheat, and by his trade thirty or forty livres sterling during the little time that he has been here. I have hired a house for my family during the winter, and I have built a little house for my servants ; I dwell on the borders of the River Schuylkill, sufficiently near the city of Philadelphia, and I have cleared up six acres. I am able to say in truth, that since I left Bristol I have never had any desire to return. Some English have gone to settle in the uplands, and they have sown this year from forty to fifty bushels of wheat, with which they have enclosed fourteen or sixteen acres ; they have besides many cattle. The men here for the most part eat rye bread, not because they do not have wheat, but because they have more rye. For here there are two kinds of wheat, the winter wheat and that sown in the autumn, and the wheat of summer which is sown in March, and they gather one or the other in the month of June, after which they again clear up the land and sow the buckwheat, which they gather in September. I have eaten here as good bread and likewise as good beer as in England ; one has also good butter and also good cheese, which is for the most part in the English quarters."

Thus he goes on, describing the productions of the country, the fish, the birds, animals, among which he finds "lions," and, finally, he comes to the red man, who is gentle and peaceable, except when stirred up to revenge. "They live in a more civil way since the English came among them," and also, "many among them begin to speak English," while Paskel heard it said by them that "the Swede is not a good man, the German is not a good man, the English *is* a good man."

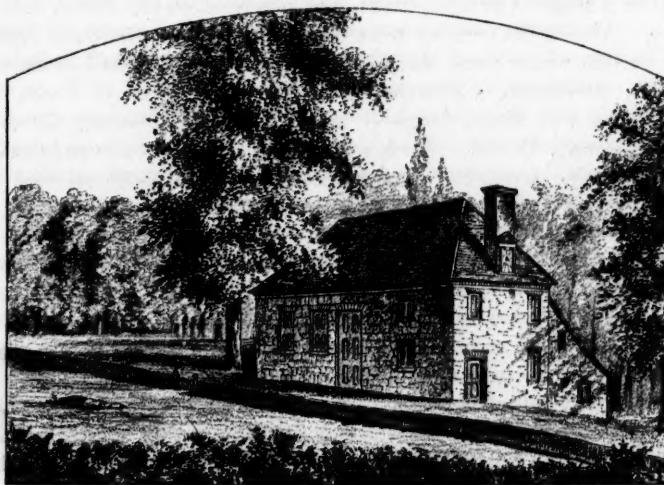
Thus, in Pennsylvania, under the guidance of Penn, the Englishman obtained a reputation similar to that won by the French in Acadia. He concludes by saying : "I truly have many more things to write you, but the shortness of the time does not permit me. Adieu. THOMAS PASKEL."

Such is the picture which this interesting writer gives. Others might be added of a later date, but this may suffice. Paskel, at the time he wrote, lived in his "own hired house," but he at once became a landowner. With

his letter to the Free Traders, published in 1683, Penn gives a plan of the city, and on one corner of the sheet a hill is delineated with three peaks and four trees, entitled "Faire Mount." The land is laid out in lots; that numbered seventy-two, situated near the centre, was purchased by Paskel. The entire municipality was soon occupied, and all things bore evidence of the wisdom and farsightedness of the Founder.

It has been observed already that the popular estimate of the character of William Penn is just; and nothing has been said of the charges brought against him by such writers as Burnet and Macaulay. To defend the Founder of Pennsylvania now against these oft-refuted aspersions would be disrespectful to his memory. Penn's life, as known and read of all men, is a sufficient answer to his enemies. He mingled much in public affairs, he associated from time to time with politicians, and, possibly, he did not altogether escape from the pitch which he may have handled, yet there are spots, astronomers tell us, even upon the sun. William Penn is to be judged by his virtues, not by any ill-founded charge of vice; and, therefore, his name must stand among the few great names that shed unfading lustre upon the history of the New World. DANIEL WILLIAMS

NOTE.—An interesting bibliography of Penn and Pennsylvania, by Mr. F. D. Stone, Librarian of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, may be found in the *Bulletin* of the Philadelphia Library Company, for July, 1882. The New York Historical Society, besides a perfect copy of Penn's Letter to the Free Society of Traders, has an incomplete copy which shows some variations.



BURIAL-PLACE AND MEETING-HOUSE

THOMAS WYNNE, CHIRURGEON

Among the companions of Penn on the "Welcome," which may justly be entitled the "Mayflower of Pennsylvania," was the gentleman whose name heads this article; and as we celebrate this month the bi-centennial of the landing of the gentle founder of the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, at the good old town of New Castle, Delaware, we take this opportunity of presenting a memoir of the first physician ever located in the city of Philadelphia, and the Speaker of the first General Assembly of the Province.

Thomas Wynne was born in the town of Caerwys, Flintshire, North Wales, about the year 1630. His father, Peter Wynne, of Leewood and the Tower, had a town residence at Caerwys. This Peter was the fifth son of Sir John Wynne of Gwydir, created a baronet in 1611, who married Sydney, daughter of Sir William Gerard, Chancellor of Ireland. The name of this lady was perpetuated in the American branches. There was a Sydney Wynne and a Sydney Dickenson, one the daughter and the other the granddaughter of the Doctor. Where Thomas Wynne received his education we do not know; but about 1650 he was sent to London, and entered the Royal College of Surgeons. After his term there expired he was licensed as a surgeon and physician, and practised on the Surrey side of the Thames. Among his patients were the family of John Smith, of Battersea, county Surrey, whose sister Mary had married Samuel Bultall, or Bulteel, of Plymouth, merchant, a younger son of James Bulteel, of Fleet, county Devon, by his wife Mary, daughter and sole heir of Courtney Crocker, of Lyneham, county Devon. *Burke's* states that there were eleven John Crockers, of Lyneham, in uninterrupted succession. Dr. Wynne married Mary, daughter of this Samuel Bultall, whom he met at her uncle Smith's. The date of his marriage was about 1656-57, certainly not later, for his eldest daughter was married and had two children before 1682. At what date Dr. Wynne became a convert to Quakerism we know not, but it is certain that he was on intimate terms with William Penn, who persuaded him to accompany him to Pennsylvania. They embarked on board the "Welcome," 300 tons burthen, Robert Greenway, master, at Deal, in Sussex, on Wednesday, the 30th day of August, 1682. After an eventful voyage of two months, during which time the small-pox broke out on board their vessel, by reason of which one-third of the one hundred who left England died, they entered the Capes of Delaware on Tuesday, October 24th, and landed

at New Castle, Friday, October 27, 1682. Dr. Wynne proceeded to Philadelphia, where he immediately located, and became the first physician of the infant city. In January, 1683, the good people of Philadelphia elected him a representative to the first regular Assembly convened by the Province—that presided over by Nicholas Moore, at Chester, from December 4 to 7, 1682, being more in the nature of a convention to frame a charter of government for the Province. On the 29th of January he was appointed a member of the Commission, consisting of one Councilman and one Assemblyman from each of the six counties then existing, to frame a new charter for the Province, many defects appearing in the first one. On the 11th of April, 1683, he was appointed one of the commissioners to proceed to Burlington and arrange various matters in dispute between the Provinces of Pennsylvania and West Jersey. In 1686 Dr. Wynne purchased from Penn 5,000 acres of land in Sussex County, Delaware, to which place he removed with his family. He represented Sussex in the Assemblies of 1687-88-89. January 2, 1689, Penn commissioned him a Justice of the Peace for Sussex County, and on the 2d of November, in the same year, a Lay Justice of the Provincial Court, but the Council rejected him. Penn again commissioned him in 1690, but he served only one year, for in 1691 he returned to Philadelphia, where he died, 16th, 1st month, 1692, in the 62d year of his age. His will bears date 15th, 1st month, 1691, and in it he styles himself "Thomas Wynne Practitioner of Physick." He appoints Thomas Lloyd, Deputy Governor, and Dr. Griffith Owen overseers or executors of his will. His wife Mary survived him, as she appears before the Council as a petitioner in 1694, as seen by the following extract from the Minutes of Council: "Charles Pickering, in behalf of the widow Wynne, having preferred a petition to the Lt Govr and Council setting forth that her husband Thos. Wynne late of Sussex Countie deceased, had been summoned to the Court of New Castle to answer the complaint of Adam Short and others. But falling sick, died 3 or 4 hours before judgment passed ag't him att the said Court, and that the original process ag't her husband was by a wrong name and therefore requested that the execution be stopt, and that the petitioner have a fair triall. After debate upon this matter, and production of the copie of the records of the Court of New Castle under the Clarks hand wherein the petitioners husband was written Thomas Guin (but his true sirname was Wynne). Resolved, that the whole tryall be referred to the next provinciall Court to be held for Sussex Countie and that in the meantime execusion be suspended."

Dr. Wynne was the author of several tracts in defence of the principles held by the "Friends." Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, was originally

named after him. His remains were interred in the old Quaker burying-ground, corner Fourth and Arch Streets. Dr. Wynne had issue:

1. MARY, born at Battersea, Surrey, about 1658; married, in 1676, Dr. Edward Jones, a native of Bala, Merionethshire, who sailed from Liverpool in the "Lion," in April, 1682, landing at Philadelphia June 13, 1682. Dr. Jones settled at Merion, in Philadelphia County, and was a member of the Assembly of 1708-09-10. Mrs. Jones died 7th month, 1726. Dr. Jones died in February, 1737, in the 92d year of his age. His son Jonathan died in 1770, aged 91. Jonathan's son James died in 1801, aged 92, and James' grandson, Samuel W. Jones, died 7th, 9th month, 1873, aged 92, and his granddaughter Sarah still survives, aged 94. Of a branch settled in Montgomery County it is said six reached the age of 92. Dr. Jones' eldest daughter, Mary, born in Bala in 1677, married, 26th, 10th month, 1699, John Cadwalader, of Philadelphia. From this marriage are descended the families of Cadwalader, Dickinson, Morris, McCall, Ringgold, Meredith, Read, Rowle, Mitchell, Graham, Stevens, Maxwell, Potts, and Schley, of this country, and the families of Erskine, Callender, Browne, Bentinck, Whitshed, Lawton, and Campbell, in Great Britain.
2. REBECCA married John Dickinson the younger, of Talbot County, Maryland, whose father, John Dickinson the Elder, was the youngest of the three sons of Charles Dickinson, of London, and came with his elder brothers, Walter and John, to Virginia in 1654. Walter was the grandfather of Judge Samuel Dickinson, of Dover, Delaware, who married, November 4, 1781, Dr. Wynne's great-granddaughter, Mary Cadwalader, and had issue by her the celebrated John Dickinson, Governor of Delaware and Pennsylvania, and his equally distinguished brother, General Philemon Dickinson, of New Jersey, a memoir of whom appeared in THE MAGAZINE, December, 1881.
3. JONATHAN, who was grandfather of—
 1. JOSHUA, Major Pennsylvania Militia, 1775-81.
 2. THOMAS, Lieutenant Third Regiment of the Line, 1776-81.
4. TABITHA, died unmarried.
5. SYDNEY, " "
6. HANNAH, married Daniel Humphreys, of Haverford, and had, with others—

4. JOSHUA, great-grandfather of
 1. Andrew Atkinson Humphreys, Major-General U. S. A., Chief of Ordnance, Staff of General of the Army.
6. CHARLES, Member of Pennsylvania Assembly and the Continental Congress, 1774-76. Refusing, like his kinsman, John Dickinson, to sign the Declaration, he retired from public life, beloved by all for his stainless private character and great benevolence.

WHARTON DICKINSON



THE LANDING AT NEW CASTLE

In 1824 a society was formed for the "commemoration of the landing of William Penn." Its first meeting was held on November 4th in the house in which he once lived in Letitia Court. An address was delivered by Peter S. Duponceau, and the eighteen members of the society dined together. In selecting the day to be celebrated, the society was guided by the passage in Penn's letter to the Lords of Plantation, dated August, 1683, in which he states that he arrived on "the 24th of Oct. last." Adding ten days to this date to correct the error in computing time by the Julian calendar, which was in vogue when Penn landed, November 4th was decided to be the anniversary. The next year, however, the society celebrated the 24th of October, and continued to meet on that day until 1836, the last year that we are able to trace the existence of the organization.

Subsequent investigations have shown that Penn did not arrive before New Castle until October 27th (see "New Castle Court Records," Hazard's "Annals of Pa.," p. 596), and did not land until the following day. It is probable, therefore, that Penn dated his arrival from the time he came in sight of land or passed the Capes of Delaware. The first evidences we have of his being within the bounds of the present State of Pennsylvania, are letters dated Upland, October 29th, and this day, allowing ten days for the change of time, bringing it to November 8th, is the one that it is customary to celebrate as the anniversary of his landing.—Mr. F. D. STONE, in the *Bulletin* of Philadelphia Library Company.

WILLIAM PENN'S LIKENESS

The Penn Bi-Centenary, with its revival of a bright piece of colonial history, still leaves us in doubt as to Penn's appearance. Of all our early founders one would wish to have his likeness among the most carefully preserved, and we are not without a vague confidence that it may yet turn up—the veritable, authenticated face of the just and kindly Quaker Proprietary. There are portraits, busts, and statues of Penn which have a history, but nearly all are traceable to the *quasi* original mentioned by Benjamin Franklin in a letter to Lord Kames of January 3, 1760, wherein he writes that he had heard that "when old Lord Cobham was adorning his gardens

at Stow with busts of famous men, he made inquiry of the family for the picture of William Penn, in order to get a bust formed from it, but could find none; that Sylvanus Bevan, an old Quaker apothecary, remarkable for the notice he takes of countenances, and a knack he has of cutting in ivory strong likenesses of persons he has once seen, hearing of Lord Cobham's desire, set himself to recollect Penn's face, with which he had been well acquainted, and cut a little bust of him in ivory, which he sent to Lord Cobham, without any letter or notice that it was Penn's. But my

lord, who had personally known Penn, on seeing it immediately cried out, 'Whence comes this? It is William Penn himself!' And from this little bust, they say, the large one in the gardens was formed." The fate of the "little bust" is unknown, but it is probable, as suggested in Sparks' note to Franklin's letter, that Bevan afterward executed several ivory busts or medallions, and that others have since been carved in imitation of his model. One of these medallions was reproduced in lithograph for Smith and Watson's "Historical Curiosities," and is presented here as a specimen of Bevan's work.

The interesting statue of Penn, wearing a broad-brimmed hat, with a



scroll in his hand, which has stood upon the grounds of the Pennsylvania Hospital at Philadelphia since the last century, originally adorned the estate of Lord Le Despenser at High Wycombe, in England, until its purchase and presentation to the hospital by John Penn, son of the Proprietary. The head is a copy of one of Bevan's busts; so also was the bust carved in wood belonging to the Loganian Library in Philadelphia which was destroyed by fire in 1831, and an engraving of which appears in Proud's "History of Pennsylvania." Benjamin West, who never saw Penn, introduces him into his painting representing the signing of the treaty with the Indians, and that portrait is probably the one most familiar to the general reader, an outline cut of which is subjoined. West also seems to have followed Bevan, though the resemblance between his head of Penn and that of the Loganian bust, for instance, is quite remote. But at best, as Sparks observes, all Bevan's heads must be regarded as "imperfect resemblances;" his delineation was likewise "drawn from the appearance of William Penn in the last years of his life, when old age, sedentary habits, and a decayed intellect left little in his countenance but its good nature."

These restrictions affect only the portraiture of Penn as the founder of Pennsylvania, for fortunately there exists an authenticated likeness of him at the age of twenty-two, when he appears as a youth with flowing locks and a face at once "handsome, intelligent, expressive of benevolence, and somewhat pensive." He is represented here in armor, and though the artist is unknown we may conjecture him to have been no other than Sir Peter Lely, who painted the portrait of his father, the Admiral. A duplicate of the original was presented by Grenville Penn to the Pennsylvania Historical Society in 1833. We must notice at the same time what is known as the "National Museum Portrait" of Penn in Philadelphia, purporting to be from an original painted at the age of fifty-two, the history of which was given by Mr. Frank M. Etting in *Scribner's Monthly* for May, 1876. This



G. PENN.

portrait was discovered in 1874 in the collection of Mr. Allan, residing in an ancient mansion in Durham County, England, and a duplicate of it obtained for the Museum in Philadelphia. Some doubts, however, linger as to its authenticity, as its artist and antecedents are not given; and yet one may see in the shape of the head, the expression and style of hair, something of the young Penn of twenty-two.

The portrait of Penn selected as the frontispiece for the present number of THE MAGAZINE has an historical basis, and, moreover, suggests a line of investigation. It is reproduced, somewhat enlarged, from a fine steel engraving published in Germany several years ago and credited to a painting by Kneller—doubtless Sir Godfrey Kneller, the English court painter in Penn's time. That a portrait by this artist exists would not be in the least surprising, and inquiries set on foot may yet lead to its discovery. Both Penn and Kneller were intimate with King James II., as Kneller was with several other sovereigns, and could not but have known each other well. Under these circumstances the surprise would be that Kneller did not paint Penn's portrait, either for Penn himself, for James, or for the artist, and as Kneller's paintings have been widely scattered, that of Penn may have gone in an unexpected direction. Its discovery in Germany, should it be found there, could be explained by the fact that Kneller was a native of Lubeck, where his relatives or admirers must have come into possession of specimens of his work during and after his lifetime. The engraving we present has all the characteristics of life and sweetness attributed to Penn's face, and is not unlike an English engraving after one of Bevan's busts, so that in any event—whether from a Kneller or not—we believe we have here as satisfactory a likeness of Pennsylvania's eminent founder as can now, among conflicting claims, be secured.

NOTE.—The cut on the preceding page, after West's portrait, is from a French print—which explains the G, for Guillaume Penn. An elaborate engraving, after a Bevan bust, illustrates the article on Penn in the now obsolete *Encyclopædia Londinensis*. The National Museum portrait appears in Dr. Egle's History of Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, 1876).

BANCROFT'S HISTORY OF THE FORMATION OF THE CONSTITUTION¹

Every thoughtful reader who takes up Mr. Bancroft's work must be struck by the second of the opening paragraphs : "Scarcely one who wished me good speed when I essayed to trace the history of America remains to greet me with a welcome as I near the goal." Nearly half a century has passed away since he undertook his great task, and some of the changes that have taken place in the meantime may be described in his own words, where he says : "While so much is changed in the living objects of personal respect and affection, infinitely greater are the transformations in the condition of the world. Power has come to dwell with every people, from the Arctic Sea to the Mediterranean, from Portugal to the borders of Russia. From end to end of the United States the slave has become a free-man, and the various forms of bondage have disappeared from European Christendom. Abounding harvests of scientific discovery have been garnered by numberless inquisitive minds, and the wildest forces of nature have become the docile helpmates of man." The change, however, of the most importance to Mr. Bancroft, as the historian of the Constitution, is that which has taken place in the status of the black man, and it is well that his long-meditated work of writing the history of the formation of the Constitution was delayed until the accomplishment of this great event ; for though, as our author informs us, more than two thousand years ago it was proclaimed by Plato that the nature of justice could be more easily discerned in a State than in a man, the American Constitution, as adopted by the fathers, did not represent justice, but compromised inalienable rights. Yet, if at an earlier period Mr. Bancroft had achieved the work which existed in his mind, he must have written in an apologetic spirit the story of an instrument incapable of exciting unmixed admiration. Such a performance would naturally have proved one upon which he could not have looked to-day with much satisfaction. As it remains, the treatment of the dead fly in the apothecary's ointment has given little trouble. He has had both the advantage and the satisfaction of treating the subject at a time when the spirit of the Declaration of Independence has been infused throughout the provisions of the Constitution, instead of discussing the instrument in the faint hope of such a consummation. Writing "after the event," he has been able not only to pass lightly over the worst aspect of the Constitution, but to bring to his

crowning task the ripe wisdom of a mind unshaken by time, though deeply freighted with the experience and varied information that comes with the lapse of years.

If, however, Mr. Bancroft has enjoyed the advantage of living long, he suffers some of the inconvenience arising out of the fact that, with reference to the occurrence of the events of which he writes, he was born early. "So," he says, "I received it from the lips of Madison." This indicates that he was closely connected with the actors of the Constitutional period. Consequently he exhibits some of the partialities inevitable under the circumstances. If he had commenced life later, much valuable material might have been lost, yet there would have been a different judgment of certain men, while he might have avoided the influence of Jeffersonian Republicanism. With reference to the accumulation and preservation of material, something of a special character could here be said, since Mr. Bancroft has labored from the beginning to make the most careful and exhaustive manuscript collections possible under the circumstances. The appendices of his two volumes before us give full proof of his painstaking diligence, and show what one can do in this respect in connection with a single topic.

The cheerfulness which animates this work of Mr. Bancroft's old age is also noteworthy. Hope inspires every page. This, indeed, might well be the case, when we consider the remarkable changes the author has witnessed and the grave dangers which constitutional representative government in this country has survived. The past is a guaranty for the future; yet in his Theism Mr. Bancroft finds his great inspiration. He says: "However great may be the number of those who persuade themselves that there is in man nothing superior to himself, history interposes with evidence that tyranny and wrong lead inevitably to decay; that freedom and right, however hard may be the struggle, always prove resistless. Through this assurance ancient nations learn to renew their youth; the rising generation is incited to take a generous part in the grand drama of time; and old age, staying itself upon sweet Hope as its companion and cherisher, not bating a jot of courage, nor seeing cause to argue against the hand or the will of a higher power, stands waiting, in the tranquil conviction that the path of humanity is still fresh with the dews of morning—that the Redeemer of the nations liveth."

This extract gives the key-note to his work, planting himself, as he does, by the side of Washington and his principal co-laborers, who took their position at the antipodes of that hopeless agnosticism which leaves the human family to grope its way in the dark, with no guidance outside of itself for the present, and with no promise for the days to come. The venerable au-

thor has conceived his work in the conviction that human society is like a leaf which, for "its greenness and beauty and health, needs the help of an effluence from beyond this planet," recognizing everywhere the hand of an overruling Providence, and shaping his philosophy in accordance with theistic principles. This aspect of the work is the more pronounced, from the fact that a class of writers incline to treat all such questions as if nothing existed outside of man.

We shall not be expected to give any full abstract or analysis of this work, the first book of which, comprising seven chapters, treats of matters prior to the Federal Convention that met in 1783, going over the movements toward union, the struggle to devise a source of revenue, the relations of Great Britain and Continental Europe to America, the various plans proposed for a strong government, and the efforts of Washington to accomplish the disbanding of the army on terms acceptable both to the soldiery and the people. The second book, in eight chapters, is styled, "On the Way to the Federal Convention, 1783-1787," showing how Washington's circular of June 8, 1783, was received by the people, how Virginia and the West gradually moved toward union, how Congress endeavored to arrange commerce, how obstacles to union were gradually removed. We are also shown the helplessness of Congress in the midst of all, and the manifold fears entertained by the people respecting the dangers of centralization in the government. The subject of the Federal Convention is finally reached with the opening of the second volume, eleven chapters of which, composing the third book, treat of the work done, and the fourth book shows the people of the different States deliberating over the great scheme laid down by their representatives preparatory to its adoption. The last book is devoted to "The Federal Government, June, 1787," in which Mr. Bancroft discusses the nature and workings of the Constitution, the delay of New York and other States in postponing its ratification; while the final chapter treats of the immediate results of the acceptance of the Constitution by the people.

Some points are discussed fully, and others appear to be passed over lightly. The latter seems to be the case with regard to that great defect of the Constitution which left the people to deal finally with a question of slavery. One perhaps can readily understand why so little is said on this point, as slavery is forever dead, and the question of human bondage in America is one that resurrectionists and ghouls will dig up in vain. Yet, as already indicated, if Mr. Bancroft had reached the subject prior to the rebellion, he must inevitably have labored over his theme with double toil and trouble. In view of this fact, therefore, we were not prepared to find

him disposing of the matter quite so easily, even "after the event." Treating of the individuality characterizing the people and the freedom of conscience which prevailed, he mildly says, "with this perfect individuality extending to conscience, freedom should have belonged to labor," and that, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, notwithstanding the support that slavery received in various parts of the world, "in America freedom of labor was the moral principle of the majority of the people;" and, again, that this freedom of labor was "moving toward immediate establishment in a majority of the States." Still, perhaps, we can charitably say this now that freedom of labor is established beyond question, and we may persuade ourselves, that the framers of the Constitution, in failing to abolish human bondage outright, did not make much of a mistake after all. We can afford to be liberal, even though their failure ultimately opened the way for Calhoun and his co-laborers to play fast and loose with the Constitution, declaring Congress incompetent to deal with slavery in the slave States, though it had the power to project the system into the free States, and, in fact, make slavery the organic law of the land; thus affording the occasion, not the *cause*, for the outbreak of the most disastrous civil war on record.

Beyond question, the man who had the most to do in securing the constitution was Washington. Mr. Bancroft will hardly be accused of exaggeration where he says, "But for him the country would not have achieved its independence; but for him it could not have formed its union; and now but for him it could not have set the federal government in successful motion." Still the Constitution, while the best, perhaps, that was attainable, did not satisfy Washington, who had his apprehensions concerning what Grayson called "the Southern genius of America." Next to Washington, in the estimate of Mr. Bancroft, comes Madison, which has been thought unjust, Hamilton having been claimed as the man who gave force and momentum to the movement, and whose brilliant intellect and fiery energy drove it forward from one point to another, and that to him more than any one else, after Washington, the Constitution owes its existence. This may be true in a sense, and the sense in which it may be true is amply indicated by Mr. Bancroft, where he shows the part which Hamilton performed. Beyond question, the Constitution is under obligation to him, but in something like the sense in which a ship may be indebted to the violent storm which happens to drive her to the destined port. June 18, 1787, from his place in the convention, Alexander Hamilton read and commented on *his* proposed Constitution, according to which, "the assembly, which was to be the corner-stone of the edifice, was to consist of persons elected directly by the people for three years. It was to be checked

by a senate, elected by electors chosen by the people, and holding office during good behavior;" while "the supreme executive, whose term of office was to be good behavior, was to be elected by electors, chosen by electors chosen by the people." Such is the way the matter is put by Mr. Bancroft (II., 44), while Hamilton's own explanation is: "It may be said this constitutes an elective monarchy; but by making the executive subject to impeachment, the term monarchy cannot apply." Still, according to his own confession, his plan contemplated a permanent president. He said distinctly that "the general government must not only have a strong soul, but strong organs by which that soul is to operate. I despair that a republican form of government can remove the difficulties; I would hold it, however, unwise to change it. The best form of government," said this young West Indian, "is not attainable by us, but the model to which we should approach as near as possible, is the British Constitution, praised by Necker as 'the only government which unites public strength with individual security.' Its House of Lords is a most noble institution. It forms a permanent barrier against every pernicious innovation, whether attempted on the part of the crown or the commons;" adding, "It seems to be admitted that no good executive can be established upon republican principles. The English model is the only good one."

Mr. Bancroft remarks on this, that Hamilton spoke, "not to refer a proposition to the committee, but only to present his own ideas, and to indicate the amendments which he might offer to the Virginia plan," favored by Madison; for he "saw evils operating in the States which must soon cure the people of their fondness for democracies, and unshackle them from their prejudices." Hamilton, we are told, "was praised by everybody, but supported by none." Mr. Bancroft concludes this matter by saying of Hamilton, "It was not the good words for the monarchy of Great Britain that estranged his hearers. Hamilton did not go far beyond the language of Randolph, or Dickinson, or Gerry, or Charles Pinckney. The attachment to monarchy in the United States had not been consumed by volcanic fires, it had disappeared because there was nothing left in them to keep it alive, and the notion imperceptibly and without bitterness outgrew its old habits of thought. Gratitude for the revolution of 1688 still threw a halo around the House of Lords. But Hamilton, finding a home in the United States only after his mind was near maturity, did not cherish toward the States the feeling of those who were born and bred on the soil and received into their affections the thought and experience of the preceding generation."

June 19th, Hamilton said, "I acknowledge I do not think favorably of republican government; but I address my remarks to those who do, in

order to prevail on them to tone their government as high as possible," saying also, "those who mean to form a solid republic ought to proceed to the confines of another government." The position of Hamilton, in no small measure, was that of an outsider, while Madison, who was not disinclined to the plan of a presidential tenure during good behavior, with proper guarantees, worked in the main in practical and what proved the accepted lines of legislation, thus becoming the weightier man. Still we must not overlook the work done by Hamilton in the *Federalist* in securing the adoption of the Constitution by the people.

Many of the ideas set forth in the convention that framed the Constitution appear sufficiently curious in our day, and show the jargon of opinion out of which that instrument sprang into being. The story of the convention, as told by Mr. Bancroft in the first volume, is a piece of mosaic work, put together with the most painstaking care, the multitudinous bits being drawn from original and widely separated sources. Those, for instance, who fancy that New England always spoke with her present voice, ought to hear Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, saying at the beginning of the convention, "The people should have as little to do as may be about the government; they want information, and are constantly liable to be misled;" while Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, declared, "The people do not want virtue; but they are the dupes of pretended patriots." Madison was in favor of refining popular appointments by successive "filtrations." Everywhere, indeed, there was a deep distrust of the people, while the people distrusted the "patriots," and shrank from committing themselves to a strong continental government. Only by a supreme effort was it possible to bring the people at large to the reluctant endorsement of a system of national government over which to-day they are ready to shout themselves hoarse, and for the maintenance of which they have made, and are still ready to make, the greatest sacrifices. Nor is it surprising that the people held back from this new-fangled composition called a constitution, when they heard such a friend of liberty as John Dickinson declaring, "A limited monarchy is one of the best governments in the world," for what, they argued, must the system be that came from men who talked in this strain. It is evident that the American people barely escaped a system that was essentially monarchical, except in name. In fact, the study of Mr. Bancroft's book will tend very essentially to disabuse the popular mind of the false notions which are now entertained respecting the men and measures of the Revolution. The American Constitution, described by Gladstone as "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man," did not come, Minerva-like, fully arrayed from the cranium of any American Jove.

It can hardly be said with exactness that it was struck off at any given time. It was a growth. Under the head of " Movements Toward Union," Mr. Bancroft sketches the progress of events from 1643 to 1781. The colonies which became one federal republic were founded by rival powers, and the diversity of interests suggested the necessity of union. In 1643, the New England colonies joined in a short-lived confederacy for mutual protection, especially with regard to the encroachments of the Dutch. In 1684, an alliance extending from New England to North Carolina was formed against the Five Nations. In 1694, John Lock, as a member of the Board of Trade, suggested a captain-general for all the forces in North America. In 1697, William Penn suggested an annual congress, to be composed of two delegates from each province. Again, in 1721, a captain-general was urged with reference to union against the French. In 1754, a plan foreshadowing the present constitution of the Dominion of Canada was suggested by Franklin and scorned by the British Government. In 1754, James Otis, of Boston, "would have had all kingdoms and all outlying possessions of the crown wrought into the flesh and blood and membership of one organization," but this plan, involving one imperial parliament for the whole, found no favor. In 1765, at the instance of Otis, the General Court of Massachusetts called for a congress, which met at New York, nine out of thirteen colonies being represented; when Parliament, aiming at the consolidation of their administration, provoked a denial of its power. In 1773, the taxes imposed by Parliament deeply stirred the colonies, "and the sound of tea-chests falling into Boston Harbor startled the natives with the news of a united and resistant America," though it must be remembered that falling tea-chests had startled the country long before they were heard at Boston. In 1774, twelve colonies sent delegates to a continental congress, who petitioned the King. In 1775, the second continental congress assembled, and in January, 1776, Tom Paine called for a continental conference to frame a continental charter; though in November previous, Joseph Hawley, of Massachusetts, advised annual parliaments composed of two houses. In August, 1776, Edward Rutledge avowed his readiness "to propose that the States should appoint a special congress, to be composed of new members for this purpose." In August, 1780, a convention of New England States, dissatisfied with the condition of things, declared in favor of a supreme head and a Congress, unlike that directing military operations, one that should deal with all "those common and national affairs, which do not nor can come within the jurisdiction of particular States." New York approved the measure. In September, Hamilton, who "in swiftness of thought outran all that was possible," took up Paine's proposition, and advised a convention to

frame a "vigorous" confederation. In the meanwhile Paine revamped his old plan; while General Greene said, "Call a convention of the States, and establish a congress upon a constitutional footing." November 11th, New England and New York sent delegates to Hartford. Led by Hobart and Benson, a system of finance was recommended, taxes to be laid upon the States, according to the number of their inhabitants, black and white; while a circular letter was sent out, declaring that a general government capable of exercising coercion was imperatively needed. Pennsylvania and New Jersey took up the cry and endorsed the movement, being followed by New York and Maryland, when the leaders became jubilant over the prospect of union. Washington, though busy with the army, was heartily in favor of the plan, believing it absolutely essential, both as regards war and peace; though the confederation revealed its inherent weakness from the day that it was accomplished, the people being afraid of the work of their own hands, all progress being accomplished with a struggle. Finally it remained for Washington to propose a new Constitution. Thus Bancroft says, "There were other precursors of the Federal Government; but the men who framed it followed the lead of no theoretical writer of their own or preceding times. They harbored no desire of revolution, no craving after untried experiments. They wrought from the elements which were at hand, and shaped them to meet the new exigencies which had arisen. The least possible reference was made by them to abstract doctrines; they moulded their designs by a creative power of their own, but nothing was introduced that did not already exist, or was not a development of a well-known principle. The materials for building the American Constitution were the gift of the ages."

Still, under the circumstances, it is remarkable that we ever obtained any Constitution at all, and much more that this Constitution, with all its defects, should possess merits that justify the language of Mr. Gladstone, where he styles it "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time." Compared, too, with the British Constitution, which may be changed in a day, the American Constitution as originally devised was very conservative, even though it admitted every vagabond in the land to a voice in public affairs, as changes could not be made even by a majority of the people, but required a sanction of a majority of the States.

It should be noted, however, that the people were indebted for the Constitution not only to themselves but to the British Government. It required every possible argument to draw them into united action. Thus the jealous and unfriendly action of that power, especially in connection with navigation and commerce, had its uses, and in no small degree confirmed the wavering purposes of our people, who found at last that a strong

government only would enable them, as against England, to utilize the independence and peace which they had won. The action of the British Government in this connection is very fully set forth by Mr. Bancroft, though the course of France, who fought with us, but was not of us, is passed over with this gingerly written paragraph: "Even Vergennes, while he believed that the attachment of America to the alliance would be safest if the confederation could keep itself alive, held it best for France that the United States should fail to attain the political consistency of which he saw that they were susceptible, and he remained a tranquil spectator of their efforts for a better Constitution." Lafayette, on the other hand, who in this case is hardly to be confounded with France, "not only watched over the interests of America in Europe, but to the President of Congress, and to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs he sent messages imploring American patriots to strengthen the Federal Union." Lafayette was our sincere friend, but France, after making her point against England, was ready to adopt the policy of masterly inactivity, however sore may have been the needs of America.

In pursuing his studies for this great work, the author has drawn upon all sources of information, and thus he has considerable to say about the different bodies of religionists in this country as they stood connected with the formation of constitutional government. They are treated under the head of "Obstacles to the Union Removed or Quieted." The statement of the religious question is made with the author's accustomed care, and he shows clearly how the different States disengaged the national debates by regulating for themselves all matters relating to public worship, either abolishing the connections between church and state, or adjusting these relations to the satisfaction of the people, so as to avoid all conflict with the national legislature. Virginia led the way in declaring against compulsory contributions for the support of public worship, while Washington was opposed to discussing the question of assessment, and when it was once brought forward, desired that the project might die an easy death. Still one can, perhaps, hardly understand the scope of Mr. Bancroft's remark, when he says, speaking of Washington, "Of the Protestant Episcopal Church, he belonged decidedly to the party of moderation, and 'had no desire to open a correspondence with the newly ordained bishop' of Connecticut." If this means that Washington was moderate in the sense of being indifferent to Episcopacy, it must be called to mind that Washington was a Virginia churchman, one of a class of men regarded lax in some respects but sticklers in others, regarding the consecration of Seabury of Connecticut by the Scotch non-jurors as unsatisfactory, and selecting a

clergyman of their own State as one of the three who were to proceed to England, and, under circumstances stated by Mr. Bancroft himself, procure the triple succession of the episcopate. The course of Seabury had endangered the unity of the church, and at a time when so large a portion of Episcopalianists looked upon him with distrust, it would have appeared singular if Washington had gone out of his way to pay his respects to one who likewise had made himself so unpopular as a tory.

Further, though Mr. Bancroft says that the Anglican establishment was feared, "because its head was an external temporal power engaged in the suppression of colonial liberties," and in a single paragraph dismisses the Roman Catholic question without the least recognition of the noble devotion of men of that persuasion to the American cause, even, in fact, as though the only point of contact between this country and the Roman Communion was found in connection with the unseating of the Jesuits, he nevertheless indulges in a long and glowing eulogy of the Methodists, seemingly forgetful of the fact that one more powerful than any Jesuit stood the acknowledged dictator of that body, being a pronounced tory and an inveterate foe of American Independence, which he sought to oppose with voice and pen. In treating the subject of the introduction of Methodist superintendents Mr. Bancroft clearly is not at home, any more than the bulk of Methodists and Episcopalianists when they reach this question, since both parties shy when they come in sight of the real issue; for if Mr. Wesley held, as we are told, that bishops and presbyters had the same right to ordain, then on the accepted theory Dr. Coke was already the peer of Wesley, and the consecration of the former by the latter was a farce. Yet American Methodism holds that Coke received from Wesley what Methodist presbyters to-day do not possess, the ordaining power being kept in the hands of the so-called bishops, who were at the first called superintendents, on account of the unpopularity of the name; for this entire question of Episcopacy, whether in Catholic or pseudo form, was a living thing, a vital element in American politics, and of such commanding importance that in this connection Mr. Bancroft could not well have passed it by.

Again, it is said of Washington that "the Presbyterians held him up to the world as the example of purity," which is perfectly true, though the Roman Catholics did the same thing in their address. This is a point of no great consequence, yet the most minute matters relating to Washington possess interest; while so deep is the reverence for Washington's character, that Mr. Bancroft will hardly be misunderstood where he quotes a writer who says, "the breath of slander never breathed upon him in his life, nor upon his ashes." Accordingly Washington makes a grand and imposing figure.

The period of the confederation which the two volumes under notice cover, has, of course, been written about to a considerable extent, but until now this period has had no adequate exhibition. The information conveyed is very full and rich. In less practical hands there would have been an embarrassment of riches, yet under the skilful manipulation of our veteran historian and literateur the material is employed to the entire convenience of the reader, who is amply edified and instructed, since, while the pages are packed with quotations always directly to the point, the documents are remanded to the appendices, where they can be studied at pleasure. These documents indeed form a rich storehouse.

In none of his previous works has Mr. Bancroft shown more candor. The reader is made fully acquainted with all the facts known to him, and he does not leave one to surmise upon what his opinion in any given case may be founded. He writes everywhere with the vigor and freshness that mark his early volumes, and he fills up a period too often considered uninteresting and dull with figures that breathe and move and enchain our interest to the end. Many of these figures are those of remarkable men, and seldom does a character appear commonplace. We say that the figures are those of men, for we have been struck by the absence of women. This may not appear so very noticeable to some, yet in what other country upon the globe could any similar work have been accomplished without the intervention of women, which, under the circumstances, means without intrigue? for while management and persuasion were used, and at times what amounted to a kind of coercion was employed with a reluctant people and their representatives, everything was done with entire frankness, and in accordance with the rules or debate. There was no concealment of principles even though there was much distrust.

With gratitude and admiration we lay down these ample volumes, of whose rich contents we have given too inadequate an idea. This crowning work of Mr. Bancroft's life forms a splendid addition not only to the literature of our nation, but of the world. The improvements that we would wish to see made in this noble treatise are few; and if on some of the pages we may detect a leniency which we should prefer to have transmuted into trenchant and accusative phrase, we are sure that it is the result of that mellowing of the mind which comes with the increased calmness and reflection of age, persuading us that charity is nobler than criticism.

¹ History of the Formation of the Constitution of the United States of America. By George Bancroft. Two volumes, pps. xvii. 520, xiv. 510. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1882.

PRINCETON AND TICONDEROGA—1777

REPLY TO THE REVIEW ON "THE ST. CLAIR PAPERS"

I avail myself of the opportunity presented to comment briefly on two or three salient points of Mr. Johnston's interesting review of the first volume of "The St. Clair Papers."

I. As to the return of the American army to Trenton, its extrication from the *cul-de-sac* on the Assumpink and success at Princeton. I shall consider also in this connection the very ingenious argument of General Stryker, which, following Mr. Johnston's paper, may be considered supplementary thereto.

To the explicit declarations of St. Clair and Wilkinson, and the circumstantial account accompanying the statement of the latter, both Mr. Johnston and General Stryker oppose a theory founded upon the military reputation of the Commander-in-Chief, and correspondence relative to his general plan for driving the enemy from New Jersey. So great and overshadowing is the character of Washington, and so deeply is he enshrined in the hearts of all patriotic Americans, we instinctively labor to multiply his honors, and repel whatever may seem to lessen them. This hero worship, though object of hero worship were never so honorable and noble, may be carried too far. It is carried too far when others are deprived of the credit that justly belongs to them. Nor is this necessary to the glory of Washington. His superiority the world concedes; the greatness of his reputation must endure forever. In the language of Hamilton, to attribute to others "a portion of the praise which is due as well to the formation as to the execution of the plans that effected these important ends, can be no derogation from that wisdom and magnanimity which knew how to select and embrace counsels worthy of being pursued."

"Fame enough it would be," says Mr. Johnston, "for any man, soldier or not, to be known as the author of that resolute move on the night of January 2, 1777, when British pride was humbled and the vanishing prospects of the Revolution were suddenly and lastingly revived." To that fame I believe St. Clair entitled, and I shall endeavor to make clear the evidence which justified that opinion.

Washington's general plan, formed before his return to Trenton, can have no weight in the discussion of the manœuvre which thwarted Cornwallis in

his purpose and culminated in the victory of Princeton. The question is, who first suggested the movement?

Mr. Johnston says: "We shall not dispute the statement that the move did suggest itself to him [St. Clair], or that he first advocated it, but not in any way does it prove that Washington had not already contemplated it, and probably for many hours. What was not revolving in his mind when, in the afternoon of the 2d, he found he must cross the Assunpink? What more after that?"

General Stryker says: "General Washington knew from his scouts the numbers of the British army advancing on him. He knew all day of January 2d what his position would be at night, if, by any good generalship, he could keep the foe from crushing him during the daylight hours. Can it then be for one moment supposed that he postponed his plans until the assembling of the council, and until General St. Clair rose to suggest a scheme which, by twelve o'clock, midnight, was in full process of being carried out?"

Further on we are told that "General Washington, having settled in his own mind the best mode of escape from the apparent *cul-de-sac* in which Cornwallis had placed him, called his officers around a council board in General St. Clair's quarters. It is possible General Washington may have asked General St. Clair, whose guest he then was, to open the discussion and to have indicated privately to him beforehand the line of march he proposed. Or it is possible Washington may have desired to see what better plan could be suggested by his general officers, and then have heard named the same plan and nothing else than what he had himself been preparing to execute. Was it like Washington to have left so vital a question undecided, unprepared for until so late an hour? His character and his conduct during the war forbid such a conclusion."

This theory is very plausible, but after all it is without any substantial basis. And the ingenious manner in which General Stryker supports it is not convincing. That Colonel Reed, General Washington's adjutant-general, and Captain John Mott, of Sullivan's column, were familiar with the country, and had rode over the Quaker Road; and that three citizens had left their homesteads that day for the purpose of waiting on General Washington to act as guides, are interesting facts—interesting as giving us a clearer view of the situation—but they do not aid us in determining the question at issue. It will be seen from what follows, that it is unreasonable to suppose that Washington anticipated the events of the evening in time to send for men residing half the distance to Princeton from Trenton, to act as guides; and there certainly was no need for their services if Colonel Reed and Cap-

tain Mott, natives of Trenton, and Colonel Isaac Smith, and General Dickinson, residents of that place, holding commands under Washington, all familiar with the Quaker Road running by Stony Brook to Princeton, were prepared to map out the country to their chief. Furthermore, if Washington during the day had formed the plan of turning the left of the enemy, and already procured guides for the purpose of directing his troops along the Quaker Road, why go through the empty form of a council? All the authorities agree that at the council the perilous situation of the army was dwelt on by Washington, and plans of escape were discussed. "Each course," says Greene, "had its advocates, when a voice was heard saying, 'Better than either of these, let us take the new road through the woods and get in the enemy's rear by a march upon Princeton, and, if possible, on Brunswick even.' From whom did this bold suggestion come? St. Clair claimed it as his; and why should the positive assertion of an honorable man be called in question?" St. Clair's language is: "I had the good fortune to suggest the idea of turning the left of the enemy in the night, gaining a march upon him, and proceeding with all possible expedition to Brunswick. General Mercer immediately fell in with it, and very forcibly pointed out its practicability and the advantages that would necessarily result from it, and General Washington highly approved it, nor was there one dissenting voice in the council." General Wilkinson says, "It was this officer [St. Clair] who in council suggested the idea of marching by our right and turning the left of the enemy."

But permit me for greater convenience to summarize the evidence in support of the claim made in the "St. Clair Papers:"

First.—We have the explicit assertion of General St. Clair, supported by the testimony of his aide, Major Wilkinson.

Second.—The fact communicated to me by Doctor Irvine, that Thomas Leiper of the City Troop—Washington's Cavalry at Trenton and Princeton, composed of young men "of the first families of Philadelphia"—told his father, Callender Irvine, that the fact that St. Clair did suggest the movement was well known in camp.

Third.—St. Clair was charged with the execution of the flank movement—a selection (usual in such cases) on account of his having made the suggestion originally. To me this is very strong corroborative evidence.

Fourth.—Washington's official report of January 5th, addressed to the President of Congress, does not sustain the statement that Washington knew from his scouts the strength of the enemy, and formed the strategetic plan during the day. After describing the movements of both armies, he says: "We were drawn up on the other side of the creek. In this situ-

tion we remained till dark, cannonading the enemy, and receiving the fire of their field-pieces, which did us but little damage. Having by this time discovered that the enemy were greatly superior in number, and that their design was to surround us, I ordered all our baggage to be removed silently to Burlington soon after dark; and at twelve o'clock, after renewing our fires, and leaving guards at the bridge in Trenton, and other passes on the same stream above, marched by a roundabout road to Princeton, where I knew they could not have much force left, and might have stores."

It would seem from statements made by Colonel Reed, General Washington's adjutant-general, that it was clearly the purpose of the Commander-in-Chief on the 2d to risk an engagement with the enemy, and to secure a better position, the army took possession of the advantageous ground on the east side of the Assunpink. "The danger of the left flank being turned by the enemy, now in great force, and the superior advantages of the ground on the east side of the bridge, with the creek in front, induced General Washington to fix upon that as the ground *where he would meet the enemy if they advanced.*" At noon the British were three miles from Trenton, and at that time the militia and principal part of the army had crossed the bridge. The resistance made by Hand's riflemen and the artillery at the crossings compelled the enemy to spend the afternoon in forcing their way over that three miles. When drawn up in full force on the opposite side their superiority was apparent. Much more was plainly understood. The successful guarding of the ford at Phillips' mill by St. Clair had prevented the quick accomplishment of Cornwallis' designs. If the enemy had forced a passage, we are assured by Colonel Reed, that the consequences would probably have been fatal. Having escaped this danger, and having discovered the purpose of the enemy when their lines were fully displayed, the American commander sought a way out of his false position. This brings us to the council and the bold resolution to march to Princeton. At midnight, a few minutes before that memorable march was begun, we find Colonel Reed despatching an order to General Putnam:

"The enemy advanced upon us to-day. We came to the east side of the river or creek, which runs through Trenton, when it was resolved to make a forced march and attack the enemy in Princeton. In order to do this with the greatest security our baggage is sent off to Burlington. His Excellency begs you will march immediately forward with all the force you can collect at Crosswicks where you will find a very advantageous post, your advanced party at Allentown. You will also send a good guard for our baggage wherever it may be."

General Stryker emphasizes the fact that in his official report Washington

does not mention St. Clair as having made the suggestion of the flank movement. I cannot consider this as having any significance. The omission was not singular. Washington's despatches were generally meagre, and personal mention the exception. In his official despatch of January 5th, no general officer is mentioned. He does not refer to the important suggestions made to him by Colonel Reed during the day, nor the council held at St. Clair's quarters in the evening, and yet the fact that such council was held is as well established as any other event in history.

II. As to the moral cowardice attributed to General Schuyler in the Ticonderoga matter, Mr. Johnston says: "But in extolling his hero, the biographer goes out of his way, as if for effective contrast, to put General Schuyler in an unfavorable light—the charges being that in the Ticonderoga matter he shirked responsibility, pandered to public opinion, and, moreover, was guilty of certain misrepresentations."

In discussing the evacuation of Ticonderoga it became necessary to refer to certain extraordinary statements and denials made by General Schuyler, and the truth of history demanded that they should be explained. There was no other motive, as the praise frequently bestowed on General Schuyler's patriotic labors in the work clearly proved. If the proofs I adduced of Schuyler's fear of public opinion and disingenuousness are not satisfactory in themselves, they will certainly be found to be so when re-read in connection with the letters which Mr. Johnston himself has supplied. I invite attention to the following extracts, and particularly to the clauses italicised :

" HEAD QRS. FORT EDWARD, July 10, 1777

" To COLO. WM. WILLIAMS,

" The evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence is unhappily too true. I am sorry to learn from Colonel Williams of White Creek and other Gentlemen that it is imputed to me, as having given an order for the purpose. *If such order was ever given I should not dare to deny it, as the means of Detection must be very easy, if principle was no restraint to asserting a falsehood.* General Learned has seen the Originals of my Last Letters to General St. Clair, for they were returned sealed by Colonel Long having never reached Ticonderoga. They held up Ideas widely, nay directly repugnant, to the Orders I am so unjustly charged with giving; you will please therefore to give my own words in contradiction to such report should it have taken place with you."

" FORT EDWARD, July 12, 1777

" To JACOB CUYLER,

" Dear Sir, I am informed that a report prevails equally injurious to me and to the Country that I had ordered Ticonderoga to be evacuated. *It is an utter falsehood.* Not an expression in any of my letters can with the severest construction be brought to countenance such a suggestion. It is impossible to impose on the public on such an occasion, as the order must be produced if any was ever given; but the truth is it was resolved on in a Council of General Officers on the Day before it was evacuated, *on what principles I know not.*"

The tone of these letters is the same as pervades those to Washington and Gouverneur Morris, quoted by me (Vol. I., p. 78), and shows a fear of public opinion. It is true that Schuyler did not give an explicit order for the evacuation of the posts, but he knew that the small force under St. Clair could not defend the long lines against a superior enemy, and in view of that fact had signed a paper on the 20th of June, at Ticonderoga, providing for the abandonment of the posts in a certain contingency, and the retreat of the army. Now, how can Mr. Johnston or any other intelligent writer justify, on moral grounds, such declarations as these:

"What could induce the general officers to a step that has ruined our affairs in this quarter, God only knows." "I am informed that a report prevails equally injurious to me and to the country that I had ordered Ticonderoga to be evacuated. It is an utter falsehood . . . the truth is, it was resolved on in a council of general officers on the day before it was evacuated, on what principles I know not."

Lossing, the biographer of Schuyler, in order to secure to him the popular applause accorded subsequently for the wise evacuation of the forts, asserts that Schuyler did give such an order. Thus is that officer's reputation left suspended between a direct and an indirect falsehood. The council held at Ticonderoga, June 20th, settled the military principles on which the forts should be defended and finally abandoned. This Schuyler knew. He also knew that in all reason those principles governed the action of the commander, and yet in the face of a momentary storm he had not the courage to tell the truth and the whole truth.

Here let that matter rest.

As to the available men at Ticonderoga, I invite Mr. Johnston's attention to the statement signed by General Schuyler June 20th, which places the number as under two thousand five hundred, and the official returns of James Wilkinson, Adjutant-General, June 28, which show that the rank and file, present fit for duty numbered 2,089.

III. Relative to the seeming injustice to General St. Clair's companions at the battle of Three Rivers, I confess in all candor that Mr. Johnston's criticism is warranted. It was anticipated in the preparation of the second edition, which was issued about two months ago. The original design was to give in foot-notes the different accounts of the movements on the St. Lawrence, but the necessity of condensation in order not to make the volume too bulky, constrained me to omit them. It was due to Mr. Bancroft as well as to the writer, that the original purpose should be carried out as far as practicable in subsequent editions.

Much might be said of the relations between Washington and St. Clair,

and of the relative merits of the latter and other officers of the Revolution, but I am content to leave the matter to the judgment of those who shall carefully read the correspondence of these two volumes.

WILLIAM HENRY SMITH

CHICAGO, August 14th.

[By way of brief rejoinder to Mr. Smith's comprehensive defence of his positions, we invite attention first to the fact that the "Memoir" of General St. Clair, which his biographer accepts without reserve as the authority for his claims, is to be regarded less as an impartial historical record than the plea or justification of an aggrieved individual who wished to set himself right before others. It was written late in life, when he was smarting under the recollection of political injuries and the ingratitude of Congress. Not that it is not a document of high value—that we acknowledge—but in the determination of nice points, especially where the claims of contemporaries are concerned, we encounter a natural exaggeration which may work prejudice. St. Clair certainly estimated his services unduly. The reader is made to believe that but for his timely suggestions on various critical occasions, an army or two would have gone to the bad, a State overrun or a battle lost. In our previous review it was pointed out that his suggestions in some instances were not original with himself alone, that others conceived of similar plans; and we hold that in the case of Princeton, his words "I had the good fortune to suggest the idea of turning the left of the enemy in the night" are to be weighed with all his other expressions of like character and interpreted in connection with the actual situation. Are we to understand that this move had not occurred to Washington or any one else? It is little probable that St. Clair would have proposed it had he not known that the enemy had few, if any, troops at Princeton. But this was a fact which Washington alone could communicate, and if so, the suggestion to take advantage of it could not have failed to occur to him as well. Why, then, call a council? it is asked. Washington called councils frequently, in accordance with the wishes of Congress, and several times, it would seem, simply as a formality to confirm his own opinion. His council on Long Island in the previous August was called after he had decided to retreat and after preparations were quietly set on foot for the purpose. To his generals there he put the question whether "it was not eligible to retreat," which was agreed to unanimously. Now may not he have stated the possibility of a move to Princeton in such terms that St. Clair at once seized the idea, as he says Mercer did immediately after him, and was the first to advocate it? We say that under the circumstances conjectures like this are legitimate in explanation of St. Clair's claim. Otherwise Washington is open to the charge of having shown stupidity in his plans and suddenly changed his wonted concern for the safety of his army into a strange desperation. If ever a general was called upon to exert himself to the utmost and devise the best possible movements for his cause, it was Washington on the afternoon of January 2, 1777. To assume that he did not see that loophole through Princeton before he called his council of officers is unwarrantable.

The camp rumor Mr. Smith refers to, comes too indirectly to be regarded as testimony. Why was not Gordon corrected after the publication of his history making Washington the originator of the move, if it was so well known in the army that St. Clair proposed it? It is, likewise, not obvious what that officer means by the statement that he was at once ordered to execute the flank movement. We are left to inquire what his superiors in rank—Greene, Sullivan, and Mercer—were permitted to do. Sullivan says, under a pressure similar to that which St. Clair lay under, that it was he who was "selected to attack Princeton." So claims conflict.

From General Stryker we hope to hear again upon these points.

As to *General Schuyler*, his conduct in the Ticonderoga matter, to which Mr. Smith takes exception, appears not to have disturbed St. Clair, whom it personally concerned. What Schuyler may have approved in council on June 20th has little to do with the existing situation fifteen days later. The council proceeded upon the assumption that if the enemy appeared at all, which was as yet uncertain, they would appear in force; hence precautionary measures were incumbent and adopted. Between June 20th and July 5th the uncertainty continued, and the interval was employed by Schuyler in collecting reinforcements and provisions for St. Clair, who had not once informed his superior that assistance would be unavailing since he must retreat. During the last four days, indeed, his letters were reassuring. June 30th he wrote: "My people are in the best disposition possible, and I have no doubt about giving a good account of the enemy should they think proper to attack us." The next day he thought them not strong, and the day following he was still of opinion that they had "no great force" with them, while on July 3d he wrote for the New Hampshire Militia to march at once to his post. Add to all this that St. Clair had not yet abandoned the Ticonderoga side, as voted in council that he should in case of pressing danger, and we find good grounds for Schuyler's momentary surprise when he heard of the evacuation. His own aid, Major Lansing, states that the immediate emergency was not obvious at headquarters, and this clearly was all that Schuyler had reference to when he stated that he was ignorant of the "principles" on which the post was evacuated. But the matter is set at rest by St. Clair himself, who wrote to John Jay as follows: "I proposed to General Schuyler, on my arrival at Fort Edward, to have sent a note to the printer to assure the people he had no part in abandoning what they considered their strongholds. *He thought it was not so proper at that time, but it is no more than what I owe to truth and to him to declare that he was totally unacquainted with the matter.*"

If this was not the truth, then St. Clair stultified himself to avoid a rupture with Schuyler.

As to the figures in question, I beg leave to refer Mr. Smith to the same return of June 28th quoted by himself, which, on the addition of all its columns with the artillery and the 900 militia, foots up a total according strictly with Schuyler's report of 5,000 as the strength of the garrison when it abandoned the post.—H. P. J.]

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

A HARTFORD CONVENTION IN 1780

Communicated by the Hon. George Bancroft

[There was no more trying year in the Revolution than 1780. The unexpected continuance of the war had produced a certain degree of lethargy in all quarters. Recruits for the army were alarmingly slow in coming in; repeated calls and exertions met with no response, and supplies were not to be had. The trouble was mainly with the public credit and the lack of a strong and accepted central authority. Patriotic men everywhere recognized the difficulties and sought remedies. What one of their efforts was appears from the document printed below. Mr. Bancroft refers to it in the first volume of his recently published History of the Constitution as one of the "movements" leading to the Convention of 1789—a movement of no secondary importance, though little known of. It will be seen from the circular letter transmitted to the governors of the States represented in Convention and that to General Washington, both of which are of special interest, that we have here some quite early emphatic and authoritative utterances in favor of "a more perfect union." An original copy of the document is to be found in the archives of the Continental Congress preserved in the Department of State at Washington.]

PROCEEDINGS.

At a Convention of the Commissioners from the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut and New York, holden at Hartford in the State of Con-

necticut on the second Wednesday of November, being the eighth day of said month A. Dom. 1780.

Commissioners from all the States above mentioned not appearing the convention adjourned from Day to Day until Saturday the eleventh day of November, when the following gentlemen appeared and produced their respective credentials, viz.

From New Hampshire.

JOHN TAYLOR GILMAN Esq.

From Massachusetts.

The Honorable THOMAS CUSHING Esq.

The Honorable AZOR ORNE Esq.

GEORGE PARTRIDGE Esq.

From Rhode Island.

The Honorable WILLIAM BRADFORD Esq.

From Connecticut.

The Honorable ELEPHALET DYER Esq.

The Honorable WILLIAM WILLIAMS Esq.

From New York.

The Honorable JOHN SLOSS HOBART Esq.

ECBERT BENSON Esq.

The Honorable WILLIAM BRADFORD Esq. chosen President.

HEZ WYLLYS Esq. Secretary.

State of New Hampshire

In the House of Representatives

October 28th 1780.

Voted that Mr John Taylor Gilman be and hereby is appointed and authorized a Commissioner in behalf of this State to meet the Commissioners from several other States at Hartford in Connecticut on the second Wednesday in November next for the purpose of advising and consulting upon measures for furnishing the neces-

sary supplies of men and provisions for the army.

Sent up for Concurrence

JOHN LANGDON Speaker.

In council the same day read and concur'd.

E. THOMSON Secrty.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

{ L. S. } By His Excellency JOHN HANCOCK Esqr, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

To the Honbl. THOMAS CUSHING, AZOR ORNE and GEORGE PARTRIDGE Esqrs. *Greeting.*

Whereas, You being named and appointed by the General Assembly of this Commonwealth Commissioners from this state forthwith to repair to Hartford in the State of Connecticut, and in behalf of this State to confer with such Commissioners as the states of Connecticut Rhode Island and providence Plantations and New Hampshire or any other of the United States have or might appoint to consult and advise on all such Business, and affairs as shall be brought under consideration upon the subject matters of several Resolutions and recommendations of the committees from several states convened at Boston the third day of August 1780, reposing special Trust and Confidence in your Wisdom prudence, skill and Fidelity, I do hereby authorize and Impower you to repair to Hartford in the State of Connecticut, and in behalf of this State to Confer with such commissioners as the States of Connecticut Rhode Island and providence plantations and New Hampshire or any other of the United States of America have appointed upon the subject matter aforesaid and upon all

other matters that may conduce for the more speedy and effectual filling up the army and supplying them with provisions etc.

Given at the Council Chamber in Boston the fourth Day of Novbr, in the year of Our Lord 1780, and in the fifth year of the Independence of the United States of America, The seal of the said State being hereunto affixed.

JOHN HANCOCK

By His Excellnys command,

JOHN AVERY Secrty.

State of Rhode Island & Providence Plantations.

In General Assembly October Session 1780.

It is voted and resolved that the Honble William Bradford Esq. be and he is hereby appointed a Commissioner in behalf of this State to meet at Hartford in the State of Connecticut on the second Wednesday in Novbr, next such commissioners as may be appointed by the other States to advise and consult upon measures for filling up their Quotas of the men and provisions for the army, and that his Excellency the Governor be requested to inform His Excellency the Governor of Massachusetts Bay of this Resolve.

A true Copy

Witness HENRY WARD Secrty.

{ L. S. } At a General Assembly of the Governor and Company of the State of Connecticut holden at Hartford on the second Thursday of October 1780.

The Honorable Elephalet Dyer the Honorable William Williams and the Honble.

Andrew Adams are appointed a Committee to meet with such Committees or Commissioners as are or may be appointed by the States of New Hampshire Massachusetts Rhode Island and New York or any of them to meet in Convention at Hartford in this State on the second Wednesday in November next to consult and advise on means and measures necessary proper and expedient to be adopted by said states for raising, filling up and compleating their several Quotas of the Continental Army for furnishing and supplying them and of such matters of common defence and safety as may properly come under their consideration according to instructions which may be given them by this Assembly, and of their result and doings to make report as soon as may be to said Assembly.

Test. GEORGE WYLLYS Secry.

State of New York

In Senate Sept. 23^d 1780.

Resolved, That three Commissioners be appointed on the part of this State to meet Commissioners from other States in a convention proposed to be held at Hartford on the second Wednesday in Novbr, next with powers to the said Commissioners or any two of them to represent this State in the said Convention to deliberate and vote upon all matters which shall be proposed, and to propose and agree to in the said Convention all such measures as shall appear calculated to give a vigour to the governing powers equal to the present Crisis. Provided that nothing to which they may agree shall be binding upon this State unless the same shall be approved and confirmed by the Legislate.

Resolved, That the said Commissioners do with all convenient speed Report their proceedings to the person administering the government of this State for the time being in order that the same may be laid before the Legislature.

In Assembly Sept. 23^d 1780.

Resolved, That this House do concur in the foregoing Resolutions.

September 26th 1780.

Resolved, That pursuant to the Concurrent Resolutions of both Houses on the twenty-third instant, The Honble Philip Schuyler and John Sloss Hobart Esquires and Egbert Benson Esq. be Commissioners on the part of this State to meet Commissioners from other States in a Convention proposed to be held at Hartford on the second Wednesday of November next.

In Senate, Sept. 26th 1780.

Resolved, That this Senate do concur in the foregoing Resolution.

By order of the Senate,

PIERRE VAN CORTLANDT,
President of the Senate

By order of the House of Assembly,
EVART BANKER, Speaker.

The convention met from Day to Day and after having discussed several matters which were deemed proper subjects of Deliberation came to the following Resolves:

No. 1. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, to raise as soon as possible the number of Troops required of them by Congress to serve

in the Continental Army in a mode as nearly similar as their respective Circumstances will admit to that observed by the State of New York and Connecticut.

Resolved, That the President forthwith send a copy of the above Resolution with a circular letter upon the subject to the Executives of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

The Draft of a Circular Letter for the above purpose was read and agreed to and is in the words following, viz :

HARTFORD Novbr 14th 1780.

SIR,

Your Excellency will receive herewith a Copy of a Resolution of the convention now sitting in this place recommending to the States of New Hampshire Massachusetts and Rhode Island and providence plantations to raise as soon as possible the number of Troops required of them by Congress, to serve in the Continental Army in a mode as nearly similar as their respective Circumstances will admit, to that observed by the States of New York and Connecticut, I also transmit you a copy of the act passed by the State of Connecticut as also of the proceedings of the State of New York, relative the filling up and compleating their respective quotas of the Continental Army. As the gentlemen from New York were unprovided with their Law they have furnished an abstract only from recollection—they conceive however there is no material error.

Your Excellency will observe a difference in the measures taken by Connecticut and New York, the former raising their men for three years or during the

War the latter during the War only. As individuals we are in sentiment with the mode observed by New York yet in our Resolution we forbore to touch this point particularly, lest we should by approving of the Act of Connecticut seem to contravene the Acts of Congress which expressly require that the men should be engaged to serve during the war. If however it should be deemed impracticable to procure the whole number during the war It would be proper to Leave to the Recruit the alternative of engaging for three years or during the War, and to give an additional bounty for such as shall Inlist for the latter period. After the Resolutions of Congress and the pressing Letters from the Commander in Chief upon this interesting subject, we presume it needless for us to attempt to excite the immediate attention, and exertion of your State, let it suffice to observe that we are persuaded the salvation of this country under Heaven depends chiefly, if not solely upon our having speedily in the field a permanent Army.

The Act of the Legislature of Connecticut referred to in the above letter is in the words following :

At a general Assembly of the Governor and Company of the State of Connecticut holden at Hartford on the second Thursday of October 1780.

An act for filling up and compleating this States quota of the continental Army.

Be it enacted by the Governor Council and Representatives in General Court Assembled and by the authority of the same, that there be forth with raised in this state four thousand two hundred and forty eight able bodied effective men including non commissioned officers and privates to serve during the war or three years, including

those already in service from this State, and which are counted as a part of this States Quota in the Continental Army, and that the whole number aforesaid apportioned out to each town within this State excepting the town of Greenwich, according to the grand list for the year 1779 exclusive of the increase on the four-fold assessments each Town having Credit for such numbers of men as they now have in service for either of the said Terms.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the several Towns within the State, shall forthwith choose a committee who shall divide all the inhabitants thereof who give in a List or are included in any militia Roll either of the Trainband, Alarm List, or Companies of Horse into as many classes according to their List, as such Town shall be deficient in number of men, and each of said Classes shall on or before the first Day of February next procure a good able bodied effective Recruit to serve during the War or for three years unless such Town shall in some other way procure the whole number of men to be by them raised as aforesaid, and that in case any one or more of said Classes shall neglect or refuse to procure their Recruits by the time limited as aforesaid such Town is hereby fully Authorized and Impowered to hire such Recruit for each of said neglecting classes, and may assess said class or the several neglecting Individuals thereof, according to their several Lists for the year 1779 except such of them as had no list in such Town for that year, who shall be assessed according to their list for the year 1780, double the sum which such Town shall give to hire such Recruit, and the several Town collectors or such other persons as shall by said Town be appointed for that purpose, are hereby fully authorized and Impowered by distress or otherwise to collect said assessment and that each and every town, that shall neglect to raise their whole Quota of men by the twentieth Day of February next shall forfeit and pay to the Treasurer of this State as a penalty for such neglect double the sum it shall cost upon an average, to procure a Recruit for each and every Deficiency.

And be it further enacted that each Town shall receive out of the Treasury of this State thirty pounds, in Bills of Credit issuing out under the

authority of this State for each able bodied effective Recruit which they shall procure to Enlist as aforesaid and be mustered by the commanding officer of their respective Regiments, which sum shall by said Town be paid over to such class as shall procure such Recruit or otherwise as the Case may be and that every Recruit shall be accounted part of the Quota of the Town to which he belongs unless such Town hath obtained its full complement.

And be it further enacted that such Recruits Inlisted as aforesaid shall be entitled to the same Wages, Refreshments, Family support and emoluments whatsoever as those already engaged in the Connecticut Line of the Continental Army are entitled to have and receive, and the several Towns in this State by their Select men or otherwise shall procure for each recruit they are hereby ordered to raise a good Blanket and cause the same to be apprized by Judicious men under Oath, on account of which being duly certified to the committee of pay Table shall entitle them to orders for payment out of the public Treasury, and the Captain General is hereby desired to issue from time to time the necessary orders for mustering marching and forwarding the Recruits so enlisted to the Army who shall have Liberty to Join any Regiment or Company of Foot of the Connecticut Line not completed to their full complement of men at their Election.

A True Copy of Record.

Examined by GEORGE WYLLYS Secry.

The Abstract of the Law of New York referred to in the above Letter is in the Words following to wit :

An Abstract of the Act passed by the Legislature of the State of New York for compleating their Quota of the Troops to serve in the Continental Army.

The Governor as soon as he shall be informed of the Deficiency in the Quota of the State is authorized to Direct a competent number of men to be raised in the several counties according to an apportionment established by the Legislature, the number of men assigned to a County are apportioned among the several militia Regiments in the County by the Supervisors of the county. These apportionments both as to the Counties

by the Legislature and as to the Regiments by the supervisors are made agreeable to what is deemed the comparative account of Estates in each County and Regiment the number of men to be furnished by a militia Regiment being thus fixed the field officers divide all male inhabitants of sixteen years and upwards resident within the District of the Regiment, into as many classes as there are Recruits to be furnished by the Regiment in making these classes the rich and poor are mingled together so as to make the classes in point of Estate as nearly equal as may be, three persons in each class are to be served with a Copy of the List of the Persons of which the Class consists and within four weeks after such service the Class is to produce a Recruit to serve during the War. If the class do not furnish the Recruit it is to be fined in the sum of seventy five dollars in specie or new Bills of Credit emitted upon the Credit of the State pursuant to the Act of Congress of the 18th of March last. This sum is to be apportioned among the Class by the assessors of the town according to what may be deemed the amount of the Estate of each person and to be levied by a Sergeant of the Regiment by Warrant from the commanding officer; each able bodied man in the Class is to be assessed at least one dollar and an half. If one or more individuals in a Class procure a Recruit at their own expense they have a remedy by suit to recover from the others in the Class their respective Proportions of such expence, in which Case the Court determine the proportion of the several persons according to their respective Estates. By the same Law a tax is laid upon all persons whose sons have gone off and joined the Enemy of nine pence in the pound upon the amount of their Estates for each Son.

The monies arising from this Tax and the fines upon delinquent Classes is to be drawn from the Treasury by the Governor and paid into the hands of recruiting officers to be applied towards raising Recruits.

NOTE.—The supervisor is an officer elected in each Town, and the supervisors meet in County Convention for the purpose of settling the accounts of the county and apportioning among the several Towns the tax charged upon the County.

No. 2. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Several States represented in this convention punctually to comply with any Requisitions which the commander in chief of the Army shall find it necessary to make for Detachments from the militia to strengthen the Battalions of the Lines of the respective States until they shall be filled up with Recruits for three years or during the War.

No. 3. *Resolved*, That it be most earnestly recommended to the several States represented in this convention punctually to comply with every requisition from Congress for Men, Money, Provisions or other supplies for the War.

No. 4. *Whereas*, In Consequence of the neglect of many if not all the United States in not seasonably furnishing their respective Quotas of supplies required by Congress, the Army has greatly suffered and been frequently brought into a very critical and dangerous situation, and those offensive operations against the enemy have been prevented, which might otherwise have been prosecuted to great advantage. And *whereas* there is great danger that in case some of the States should be deficient in their supplies, while others furnish them their full quotas, such jealousies and distrusts will arise as may prove very detrimental to the common Cause and possibly destructive of the Union, therefore,

Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to the several States represented in this Convention to Instruct their respective Delegates to use their Influence in Congress. That the Commander in Chief of the Army of the United States be authorized and Impowered to take such measures as he may deem proper and the

public service may render necessary to induce the several States to a punctual compliance with the requisitions which have been or may be made by Congress for supplies for the years 1780 and 1781.

No. 5. This convention having received Information that large quantities of Cloathing for the army are lying in store at Boston and Springfield. Resolved that it be recommended to the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York to impress teams, if they cannot be otherwise readily obtained, and forward the clothing by the most direct rout through their respective territories, to the army.

No. 6. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the several States represented in this convention to Instruct their Delegates to propose and agree in Congress, That an estimate should be made of the annual amount of the Interest of the Loan Office Certificates heretofore issued and also of all other Debts already due from the several Continental purchasing officers, and which can conveniently be funded. That Congress should then propose certain taxes upon specific Articles or duties or imposts on all or either of them as Congress may think proper and deem, to operate in the most equal manner among the several States the neet product of which Congress may judge sufficient for discharging such Interest.

That the several States should thereupon make the necessary provisions by Law to enable Congress to Levy and collect such Taxes Duties on Imports within them respectively and that the delegates should be authorized to pledge the Faith of their respective States that they will pass the requisite Laws for the pur-

pose with a Restriction that the delegates shall not have Authority to bind their respective States unless the Delegates from all the States, except such who are so in the power of the enemy as to be deprived of a Legislature, should have similar powers. That such Taxes Duties or imposts should be applied solely to the payment of such Interest. And that inasmuch as it will be impossible to ascertain precisely the sum which such Taxes Duties or Imposts may annually yield, that therefore if during any year, the product should exceed the amount of such interest, that such excess shall nevertheless be retained in the Continental Treasury and in the ensuing year be appropriated to the payment of such Interest as shall then have occurred and to no other purpose.

No. 7. *Whereas* through the neglect of many States in the Union in a full and seasonable compliance with the Requisitions of Congress of the 18th of March last, Congress have not been able to avail themselves of the money which they expected to pay their Troops and transport the necessary Supplies to the Army, which has occasioned not only discontent in our army but great embarrasments in our Affairs.

Therefore *Resolved*, That it be most earnestly recommended to the several states represented in this Convention to take effectual measures to sink their full Quota of the Continental Bills by the Time and in the manner prescribed by Congress.

No. 8. *Whereas*, the Laws heretofore passed by the several States have proved ineffectual for the purpose.

Resolved, That it be earnestly recom-

mended to the States represented in this Convention to take such farther measures as may be effectual to prevent any unlawful commerce or Intercourse with the enemy.

No. 9. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the States represented in this Convention to appoint a commissioner or commissioners to meet for the purpose of entering into contract for supplying the Fleet and Army of his most Christian Majesty with provisions. That the commissioners from the respective States should be fully Authorized to enter into such Contracts, and that the Commissioners should meet at such Times and place as the Governor of Connecticut shall certify for the purpose.

No. 10. To the end that Congress until the Confederation shall be agreed to may be furnished with a Rule for making an apportionment of men money or other supplies among the several States.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the States Represented in this Convention to instruct their Delegates to propose and agree in Congress, That Congress should require of the several States forthwith to return the number of persons Blacks as well as Whites within them respectively.

The draft of a circular letter to the States Represented in the Convention was read and agreed to in the Words following, viz.:

SIR,

Your Excellency is apprized of the Convention at this place of Commissioners from your State and the States of

although the original design of our meeting was principally to confer

upon the most elegible mode for completing the Army and drawing forth the necessary supplies from the States we Represented, yet as in considering this subject we were naturally led to others equally Interesting we conceive it our duty to communicate to our constituents the result of our deliberations.

Notwithstanding we have Reason to expect every aid from our benevolent Ally and notwithstanding Spain has engaged in the war with us, and the probability that the other European powers favour our cause, yet in other Respects we find our situation to be truly critical and alarming. Our Army is already or will be shortly so reduced in point of numbers as not to be able to furnish competent garrisons for the requisite posts, their pay is in arrears for many months. Frequently during this campaign totally without provisions and their present supplies very precarious, no magazine provided. The public Treasuries destitute of Cash and the public Officers destitute of Credit and almost the whole northern and western frontiers exposed and undefended.

Whence these misfortunes have arisen we will not presume to determine, some cases were beyond human prevention, but with respect to others we conceive there is a remedy within the powers of the several states, to these points, therefore, we mean to confine ourselves and to them we most earnestly intreat the attention of your State.

Our present Embarrassments we imagine to arise in a great measure from a defect in the present Governments of the United States.

All Government supposes the power of Coersion, this Power however in the

General Government of the Continent never did exist, or, which has produced equally disagreeable Consequences, never has been exercised. It is true that the powers of Congress have never been explicitly defined; but by the necessarily implied compact between the States at the commencement of the War, it may be certainly inferred that Congress was vested with every power essential to the common defense and which had the prosecution of the war, and the establishment of our General Liberties for its immediate object.

Waving the question however as to what were originally or now are rightfully the powers of Congress; the fact is that they have hitherto applied to the several states by way of recommendatory Requisitions; that the different States have in some instances neglected and in others refused to comply; that Congress have not in any instance used coercive measures to enforce a compliance, and their Power, now is become questionable. It must be evident to every sensible mind that under these circumstances the Resources and force of the country can never be properly united and drawn forth.

From this conviction we have passed the Resolutions N° 3, and 4 which we consider as temporary expedients, until a perpetual confederation between the States shall be established.

The measure proposed in the latter Resolution may appear to be rather harsh, but let it be remembered, that weak inefficient Governments are incapable to answer the great end of Society—defence against foreign invasions,—must and will end in despotism, and that the States individually considered while they endeavor

to retain too much of their Independence may finally lose the whole.

There is another evil flowing from the same source which though possibly not fatal yet is highly injurious and requires a remedy. It is suggested that Congress have no power to punish such of their Servants as do not belong to the Army. We have therefore intimated to Congress the necessity of their forming a generous mode for the tryal and punishment of persons appointed by them to the public offices and not in the military line, and it is our earnest wish that the several States would lend their aid in making the necessary provisions by Law for carrying into effect the Acts of Congress which may be passed for this purpose.

The next subject which claims our attention is the State of public credit. Whether it can be immediately wholly restored is doubtful, but we should be unjustifiable were we to leave any attempts unassayed.

No questions are more intricate and controverted than those of finance; we forbear therefore to enter into a detail of reasoning and shall content ourselves with merely proposing a measure which although partial yet, if adopted by all the States and properly executed, would we flatter ourselves have a great tendency to reestablish our credit and place our Financies upon a respectable footing. We assume the following propositions for granted, that we cannot by taxes only raise a sum sufficient for our current expenditures.

That therefore recourse must be had to loans. That future Loans cannot be obtained unless upon the most disadvantageous Terms without certain funds estab-

lished for the redemption of the present, or at least for the discharge of the Interest. Under the influence of these principles we agreed to the Resolution N° 6.

The want of a proper and permanent Confederation between the States is a matter of the most serious moment and upon investigating the causes of our present embarrassments it appeared to us that many of them flowed from this source; we must therefore request your Excellency to press it upon your Legislature to use every means and remove every obstruction to the completion of the confederation.

By the expulsion of the enemy we may be emancipated from the Tyranny of Great Britain. We shall however be without a Solid Hope of Peace and Freedom, unless we are properly cemented among ourselves, and although we feel the calamities of War yet we have not sufficient inducements to wish a period to them until our distresses, if other means cannot affect it, have as it were forced us into an Union.

This letter with our other proceedings we must request your Excellency to lay before the Legislature of your State, and as the matters to which they relate are of a most important nature, We flatter ourselves they will receive a due degree of attention.

I am &c.

The Letters to the Legislatures of the States unrepresented in this Convention are in the Words following to wit :

HARTFORD, November 22^d 1780
SIR,

By the Direction of the Convention held at this place I have the honor to

transmit to your Excellency their proceedings with a Request that you will please to lay them before the Legislature of your State. As the measures we have recommended to the States by whose appointments we met, will depend for their efficacy upon the concurrence of the other States, We conceive it our Duty to communicate them immediately in order that if they should be deemed eligible they might with the greater Dispatch be carried into effect.

I remain with the most sincere wishes for the success of our common cause and the peace and prosperity of Our Sister States.

Your Excellencys most obedient Servant,

By order of Convention.

The Letter to His Excellency General Washington is in the words following to wit :

SIR,

By the direction of the Convention held at this place I have the honor to transmit their proceedings to your Excellency for your information.

I am with sentiments of the Highest esteem your Excellencys most obt Servant.

By order of the Convention.

A true copy.

Attest : HEZ. WYLLYS Secrty.

SIR,

By the direction of the convention, held at this place, I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency their proceedings, with a request that you will please to lay them before Congress.

From these proceedings, Congress will be able to collect the original design of

our appointment, and the measures we have recommended to our constituents, to draw forth the requisite supplies, and to remove the present public Embarrassments.

Congress will observe, that in addressing ourselves to our constituents, we have taken notice only, of such inconveniences as it was supposed, Congress could not provide against, without the previous aid and consent of the several Legislatures. We apprehend however, that our affairs, are become embarrassed, from other causes, against which, it is in the power of Congress, to apply the proper Remedy, and upon which tho' with the utmost deference, we shall presume to offer our sentiments.

We have now been engaged in the war, for upwards of five years, and our public business is still continued upon what we conceive to be a defective system. Congress, either by themselves or their committees retaining a considerable share in the Executive departments, this is productive of great delay, and as Congress with respect to the individuals of which it is composed is fluctuating, the train or connection of Business, must necessarily be lost, indeed it would be needless to enumerate all the disadvantages which must necessarily result from the mode, in which the general concerns of the states are at present conducted.

They must occur upon the least Reflection, and we cannot avoid expressing our earnest wishes for a Reform. Which would be the most eligible arrangement, it would be improper for us to mention ; the wisdom of Congress will undoubtedly suggest it, and we shall only indulge ourselves, in giving a general idea, and observing that in our apprehension the

commander in chief ought to have the sole Direction of the military operations, and an individual should have the charge of each Department, who should be responsible ; and especially that a person, who from peculiarity of Talents, abilities and Integrity may be supposed equal to the Business should be placed at the head of the Financies.

The want or supposed want, of competent powers in Congress, to try and punish, such officers of their appointment as do not serve in, or are not annexed to the Army, is exceedingly injurious. And we would suggest to Congress the necessity of their devising a proper mode of trial and punishment of Persons in the Service of the United States ; and who cannot consistently be brought within the articles of War. From the circular letter to the States, whom we have the honor to represent, Congress will perceive that we have requested their attention to this subject, and we trust, they will readily carry into effect any acts which Congress may pass for this essential purpose.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull has been pleased to communicate to us the Requisitions of Congress for supplies for the ensuing year. We could have wished that these requisitions, had been earlier made, as the season for salting provisions is nearly elapsed, and we are therefore fearful that a punctual compliance, will be Impracticable.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the greatest respect your Excellencies most obedient servant

(By order of the Convention)

WILLIAM BRADFORD, President.
His Excellency
The President of Congress.

NOTES

NOTES AND QUERIES, as may be inferred from numerous examples, need not invariably relate to strictly historical topics. This department is sufficiently flexible to embrace the entire range of antiquities, and afford scope for questions of literary interest, together with suggestions relating to manners and customs. We once more invite readers in general to send in their contributions for this department, and to present, in a brief form, communications on points which they think likely to interest others.

THE LIBERTY OF PROPHESYING—With the politics of the day THE MAGAZINE has nothing to do, but after politics have passed into history, they afford legitimate subjects of discussion; and intelligent men of the different sections of the country have an undoubted right to give their views on issues which formerly divided the people, but which to-day are as essentially subjects of antiquarian interest as our grandmother's spinning-wheels, candle-sticks and old clocks. No one should be surprised by the exhibition of an archaic spirit in such connections, especially as all writers addressing the public over their names, whether they laud the virtues of William Penn or the peculiar claims of John C. Calhoun, discuss the Great Northwest or the explorations of La Salle, are supposed to speak simply for themselves; and their statements carry just as much force as the array of facts can command. THE MAGAZINE has always shown a courteous regard for opposing opinion, and has respected the dictum, *Audi alteram partem.*

MANUFACTURING HISTORY — Mrs. Stowe's publishers gave her a garden party on her last birthday, and no one should be so ungallant as to offer any criticism upon the very beautiful ovation which the distinguished lady enjoyed at Newtonville; yet we cannot fail to notice a certain point, since Mr. H. O. Houghton, in his opening address, likened the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" to the Miriams, Deborahs, and Judiths of the olden times, and after telling how people had wept over the story, added, "And to-day slavery, with all its attendant evils, has disappeared forever;" while Mr. Holmes insisted that it was her hand

"That gave to freedom's grasp the hoe,"
and Mr. Trowbridge declared, in equally animated verse,

"She loosed the rivets of the slave."

There was more in the same style, to which we have no objection, except upon the ground that it is not true; for Mrs. Stowe and her worthy co-laborers had nothing to do either in loosing rivets or securing emancipation. This was the work of an individual who went into the White House pledged to protect slavery and honestly resolved so to do, but who, at last, as President of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of the Army, wrote slavery's doom. He did not even consult his Cabinet regarding the right or expediency of the act. He conferred with no human being, taking counsel simply with events and with his own brave heart. Thus he performed the most momentous and beneficial act recorded in American history. Nevertheless the timbrel of Miriam is put into the hand of Mrs. Stowe, who is called upon for a song.

This particular case is of no great consequence, only the number of claimants in this department is becoming inconveniently large.

THE ROYAL ROAD—The pronounced superiority of what is called the "lay" mind over the professional is very noticeable in our country, where one of the chief qualifications of the critic is found in the absence of special knowledge of the thing criticised, and where the science of government is better understood in the perfumed circle around the stove of a country grocery than in any cabinet. The judge who decides a case in opposition to a Bohemian, either "knows nothing" or is "bought." When we come to science, military criticism, art or theology, the denizen of almost any cockloft around our publishing centres is competent, and can revise the campaign of Sir Garnet, demonstrate the ultimate character of steam power, or with regal calmness prove the mistakes of Moses. Occasionally the superiority of the "lay" mind becomes a little too apparent, and some time ago the publishers of a celebrated scientific writer, now in this country, felt obliged to stop furnishing press copies of his works to critics of this class, who, without study and reflection, could comprehend all the subtleties of metaphysics so much better than the trained professional mind. The same remarkable aptitude is found in connection with history, and almost any one who controls printer's ink is able to stand forward the superior of the student and investigator, and teach even the American Herodotus. No one questions the right of impartial and intelligent criticism, but

how impartial and intelligent is the criticism which allows the studies of specialists to go for nothing and fancies that it is the province of idlers to discover a royal road to historical learning?

"THE VISIT OF THE VIKINGS"—In *Harper's Monthly* for September there is an article which tells us what American "antiquarians" thought of certain matters in the last generation—informs us that it is to a couple of seat-posts "that we owe the discovery of Greenland, and afterward of Vinland," the latter being lost sight of about the year 1013. We also learn that our American shores would "look" tame and uninteresting "but for the cloud and mist which are perpetually trailing in varied beauty above them, giving a constant play of purple light and pale shadow, and making them deserve the name given to such shores by the old Norse legends, 'Wonderstrands';" notwithstanding the Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne distinctly informs us that the name was applied, because the voyagers were "so long passing by," and notwithstanding the fact that we have no knowledge of the name having been applied to any coast whatever, except a portion of the North Atlantic coast. Besides, the author is hopelessly tangled up even in his title, since, however well "The Visit of the Vikings" may sound, falling upon an alliterative ear, it nevertheless contains less truth than is suspected, even by its author; there being not a particle of evidence to prove that a viking's flag ever flew either in an Icelandic or a Greenlandic port. The first part of the article is simple padding. The Icelandic voy-

agers to America were a rude and quarrelsome people, and some of them were addicted to murderous revenge, like their contemporaries of Northern Europe ; yet pirates they were not, either in the "lay" or professional sense. It is perfectly well known that, instead of ending their visits in 1013, they continued them in the fourteenth century, and that religious teachers came with them.

In order to belittle the work of the Northmen, the writer in question tells us that their discovery of America was "without clear intent," whereas the Northmen never claimed to have discovered America with "clear intent" or otherwise ; and, in fact, declared the contrary. Whereas Columbus himself, though animated by "a heroic purpose," likewise discovered the continent of America "without clear intent," and even then not until it had first been discovered *with* a "clear intent" by John Cabot. It must be conceded, however, that the "intent" of Cabot was not so "heroic" as that of Columbus, who showed a lofty and most invincible spirit when he reached the western end of Cuba, where he drew up a paper, declaring that this was the eastern border of Asia, forcing his companions to sign it, and agree, moreover, that the person who denied its truth should pay a fine of five thousand maravedis and have his tongue cut out. It is about time, therefore, to let Columbus stand upon his record, as well as the late Professor Diman, who is made to bow the Northmen out by a quotation from the identical address in which, as clear as print can make it, he declares that the Northmen came into Narragansett Bay.

NEW HAVEN ANTIQUITIES—Mr. John F. Matthews, at one time editor of *Old South-east Lancashire*, and now in this country, begins a letter to a Manchester paper, by speaking of "the scanty stores of New World antiquities;" forgetting, perhaps, that the New World is in reality the Old, and that before the foundations of Europe had been laid, the continent of North America was the seat of organic life, and that a glacial man once roamed on the Atlantic seaboard. In reality, the antiquities lie all around us; while his letter shows the great interest attached to some things bearing a comparatively modern date. We Americans, or at least modern Americans, described by Talleyrand as without either bones or nerves, have been very busy in getting up our constitution, and heretofore have had no time to study the past. We are, however, making some progress, and, in time, it will appear that there are ancient things in this country worth looking after, and which, indeed, possess an interest that will justify the general reader in giving his support to a journal like THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, devoted to the past days of this ancient western world, whose chronology goes back well nigh to the days of Chronos, and comprehends periods the contemplation of which almost makes one feel giddy. Mr. Matthews, who is a very cultivated and clever writer, shows, in the communication referred to, how large an interest is attached even to a place like New Haven, whose crypt he has recently explored, and where he had been preceded by President Hayes, who, even during his term of office, crowded with cares and responsibilities, was particular to keep up his

historic and genealogical reading, and who found time to visit this interesting place and view the monument of Dixwell the Regicide; little dreaming that one worse than a regicide was at that moment being trained to take the life of his successor; trained, too, in that opinion regarding himself which was entertained by many of Dixwell, who is described on the monument at New Haven as "a zealous patriot, a sincere Christian, an honest man." It would be a pleasant thing if the people of this country were generally accustomed to take that degree of interest in their past history which is so often shown by intelligent foreigners. It would be still better if they would acquire the habit of putting their "finds" on record, and sending them also to the MAGAZINE, which is the only monthly in the New World devoted to the history and antiquities of America, and as such is entitled to prompt and generous support.

THE ERRING SISTER must be the title of a paragraph or two more, being suggested by a writer in *The American (Stoddard's) Review*, who criticises Mr. Bancroft's "History of the Formation of the Constitution," and who says of the venerable historian: "He still persists in quoting to suit his own purposes, rather than with servile adherence to the words of any text that serves as his authority or illustration, and this in spite of the harsh criticism of Reed and Green, and the other representatives of revolutionary heroes, who essayed the defence of their ancestors against Mr. Bancroft's severe condemnation. Thus, in quoting from a letter of Washington to Madison, of May 2, 1788, at p. 284, he makes it read,

'Seven affirmatives without a negative would almost convert the erring sister,' and at p. 301 he cites it: 'Eight affirmatives for the Constitution ought to cause even the erring sister to hesitate,'—which is the true version?" He adds to this, not that it is "too too" interesting, but simply, "too interesting to find that the phrase of 'erring sister' so much used during the Rebellion has so good an authority as that of Washington for its sanction."

As it happens, however, neither Washington nor Mr. Bancroft says one word about any "erring sister." They write "unerring" sister. It will be seen that the critic makes a three-fold blunder in trying to point out *one* where he could have discovered *three*; for Mr. Bancroft, in his *second* quotation from Washington's letter (II. 301), writes, "The eloquence of eight affirmatives for the Constitution ought to cause even 'the unerring sister' to hesitate," thus making it appear as though Washington borrowed the phrase, which in the extract from Washington's letter as given in the appendix (II. 467) has no quotation marks, and runs as follows: "For eight affirmatives without a negative carries weight of argument, if not eloquence, with it that would cause even the unerring sister to hesitate;" which certainly is quite unlike what Mr. Bancroft quotes, evidently from memory. "Thus," as La Place would say, "it plainly appeareth" that the phrase "erring sister" has not the good authority of Washington for its sanction, who was writing to Madison and referring to the prospective approval of the Constitution by South Carolina, which State *did* approve. "Thus, in 1788," as Mr. Bancroft

says, "the plan for a Southern Confederacy was crushed by the fidelity of South Carolina," the State which first stood forth for such a Confederacy in 1860. The "unerring sister" of whom Washington spoke was his own Virginia, who at last gave over her opposition to the Constitution and wheeled into the line of the Union. It would, perhaps, be interesting to know who before Washington used in this connection the phrase "unerring sister."

CROWS MATED—The following notice appeared in the *New York Gazette* of 1798: "Married, on Sunday, July 29th, Mr. Samuel Crow, mate of the brig *Defiance*, to the amiable Miss Isabella Crow, youngest daughter of Samuel Crow, of Woodbridge, N. J.—God bless 'em both!"

PETERSFIELD

THE TELEGRAPH—On the occasion of a benefit at the Park Theatre, in New York, May 23, 1798, it was announced that between the play and the farce "there will be presented a Dramatic Sketch called *Naval Gratitude*, in the course of which will be introduced an exact representation of The Telegraphe, explaining the mode of conveying intelligence by it as now practised in Europe."

W. K.

FIRST SALE OF A BLACK SLAVE IN ENGLAND—The *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1763 has the following paragraph under date of January 28th: "At the sale of Rice, the broker's effects, a Negro boy was put up by auction, and sold for 32*l.*—Perhaps the first instance of the kind in a free country."

PETERSFIELD

WATTS' PSALMS—EDITION OF 1781—President Stiles has the following entry in his diary: "This year [1781] has been published the fourtieth edition of Dr. Watts' Psalms; it was printed at Newburyport in Massachusetts by Mr. Mycall, Printer. He with the Advice & Assist^a of neighboring Ministers & others, has made some Alterations in psalms where *G. Britain* is mentioned & references to the King of G^t Britain, as in the 75th Psalm. At first it may seem as if these alterations were many: however they really are but few. Thus the Ps. Book is well adapted to the Chh in America." This was not the edition which Parson Caldwell, of New Jersey, is said to have distributed from his church during a skirmish to sundry Revolutionary soldiers who were out of wadding, with the exclamation, "Here, boys, give 'em Watts!"

THE ORIGIN OF "O. K."—A correspondent of the London *Notes and Queries* gives the following as a contribution to the vexed and often discussed question, the origin of the symbolical "O. K." It is amusing, to say the least, in view of the undoubtedly American origin of the symbol: "In the year 1847 or 1848 I was stationed with my regiment at Up Park Camp in Jamaica. Those were the days of practical jokes; foolish and unmeaning they appear now, but at that time they perhaps indicated a spirit of adventure which may be dying out among us. The high road from Up Park Camp to the town of Kingston is bordered at intervals with small retail shops, mostly kept by Chinese and Negroes. From one of these shops—belonging, I think,

to a Chinaman—a pole above the door projected into the high road, and on it were erected the letters ‘O. K.’ of large size and richly gilt. They were probably his sign. One fine night, after a late mess dinner, when driving to Kingston with some comrades, we espied these letters glittering brilliantly in the moonlight a little distance ahead of us. ‘How uncommonly well they would look in my room,’ observed one of the party. ‘So they would,’ was the rejoinder. ‘Let’s have them down.’ Whereupon the gig was brought up under the pole and one of its occupants was hoisted up. Silently and dexterously he removed the letters—he was a Royal Engineer—and deposited them in the gig. As we drove off some one remarked, ‘I wonder what O. K. means.’ ‘Oh,’ said the chief actor, ‘all correct, I suppose’—or, as he pronounced it, ‘Ole K’rect.’ The joke occasioned much laughter, and from that time, whenever anything out of the common or mysterious occurred in the garrison, it was not unusual to hear it described as ‘That’s O. K., I suppose.’ The vicissitudes of the service soon dispersed our party, and when I returned to England, a few years afterward, I was surprised to hear the expression made use of, and wondered how it had originated.”

MONUMENTS—It is expected that the Washington monument will reach an altitude of 330 feet by December 15th, and it is also intended to have an observatory on its summit, thus making it of scientific use. It is to be regretted that no use will be found for some monuments now going up.

LITHOS

QUERIES

FIRST UNITED STATES CENSUS—NEW HAVEN’S POPULATION IN 1782—Might not an approximately correct census be made up for the year 1782–83, representing the population of the thirteen original States when their independence was recognized by Great Britain? Congress had recommended a careful enumeration of the inhabitants for war purposes, and it was doubtless very generally made. The census was certainly taken in Connecticut, which showed a population of something over 202,000. The report for New Haven, for example, was as follows, as noted in the diary of Dr. Stiles, then President of Yale College :

“The selectmen of the several Towns in Conn.,” says the Doctor, “have been taking the Number of Inhabitants this winter and spring, by order of the Gen^t Assembly upon Recommendation of Congress. Chiefly taken in the months of Jan^y and Feb^v. This is the Number for N. H.—that is that part Contained within the 4 Parishes whose Meet^g houses are on the Green in the Compact part of the Town. There are six Parishes besides within the Township.

Males above 50.....	149
“ between 16 and 50.....	613
“ under 16.....	703
Total of Males.....	1,465
Females above 50.....	162
“ between 16 and 50	760
“ under 16.....	730
Total of Females.....	1,652
Refugees from New York :	
Males above 50.....	3
“ between 16 and 50	7
“ under 16.....	8
Total of Males.....	18

Females above 50.....	2
" between 16 and 50.....	12
" under 16.....	14
Total of Females.....	28
Negroes	142
Refugees.....	8
Total.....	150
Indians	8
Sum Total.....	3,322
Yale College (not included).....	225"

Dr. Stiles drew the following diagram to illustrate the area of the population given :



A RISING SUN—We are all somewhat familiar with the rising or setting sun, whichever it may be, in the arms of New York, where it has also been viewed as a "westerling" sun. I find from Bancroft's "History of the Constitution of the United States" (ii. 221) that a sun "was blazoned on the President's chair" at the convention when the Constitution was signed. Franklin is quoted as saying with reference to his own act of signing: "In the

vicissitudes of hope and fear I was not able to tell whether it is rising or setting; now I know that it is the rising sun." Can some one tell us about the chair in question and the significance of the sun blazoned thereon?

YORK

THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC—When was this name first applied to the United States?

JEFFERSONIAN

GOD'S THOUGHTS OF PEACE IN WAR—A book with the above title was published at New York in September, 1780. The author is supposed to be John Sayre, a clergyman of the Church of England. Is any copy of this volume known to be in existence?

MINTO

AUTHORS ON VIRGINIA—The following are the names of the authors cited in the Oxford Tract and "Smith's General History" for the relation of various occurrences in Virginia prior to 1610, viz.: Thomas Studley, Robert Fenton, Edward Harrington, Thomas Abbay, Thomas Hope, Anas Todkill, Dr. Walter Russell, Thomas Momford, Dr. Anthony Bagnall, Nathaniel Powell, Richard Wyffin, William Phettiplace, Jeffrey Abbot, Richard Pots, and William Tankard. I solicit definite information regarding any of these. Several must have died before Smith left, among whom Studley and the two doctors. Did not Thomas Abbay, Richard Pots, William Phettiplace, and Richard Wyffin return to England with Smith? Is it certain that more than two remained alive in the colony, viz.: Jeffrey Abbot, who was afterward hung by Dale, and Nathaniel Powell, who was killed by the Indians March 22, 1621?

ALEXANDER BROWN

FORT LEE—Can you inform me in what work I can obtain a good description of the fortifications at Fort Lee, and of the events which took place there? Greene's "Life of General Greene," at least the smaller edition, makes but little mention of the matter. In Stedman's "History of the War" an elaborate map of the forts and surrounding country is given, but it has evidently been laid down by rule of thumb. There must surely be some official documents in existence detailing the incidents of the evacuation, loss of material of war, etc. The date of the construction of the two forts seems even to be uncertain.

C. W.

BANCROFT PAMPHLETS—It is well known to historical students that Mr. Bancroft's great work has not given unalloyed satisfaction to the descendants of many of our revolutionary heroes, but on the contrary has provoked a good deal of controversy, and in consequence many pamphlets and articles have been published assailing it. Will some reader of THE MAGAZINE furnish a list of these publications?

STUDENT

AMERICAN COMIC PERIODICALS—Can any reader of THE MAGAZINE furnish a list of the various comic periodicals that have appeared in the United States? The history of these would no doubt form a very interesting chapter in the story of American journalism.

PUCK

WAS THIS THE FIRST ENGLISH FEMALE BORN IN NEW ENGLAND—*Ipswich, November 27.* On Thursday last in the Fore noon died here Mrs Grace

Graves, Widow, in the 99th Year of her Age. She was one of the first Female English Children that was Born at Boston in New England; she retained her reason and understanding to a good degree to the last.—*The Boston Weekly News-Letter, No. 1401, December 3, 1730.*

PETERSFIELD

[In this connection, Petersfield's attention is invited to the "Pilgrim Memorial," VIII., 597.]

SEEING STARS—What is the origin of this phrase, or, "I'll make you see stars"? BINOCLE

REPLIES

THE DOLLAR-MARK—With reference to the query [VIII. 637], I may give the following, taken from a foreign paper, which says that the best origin of the sign is offered by the editor of the London *White-hall Review*, who once propounded the question at a dinner party in that city at which the American Consul was present. As no one could tell, the editor gave the following explanation: "It is taken from the Spanish dollar, and the sign is to be found, of course, in the associations of the Spanish dollar. On the reverse of the coin is a representation of the pillars of Hercules, and round each pillar is a scroll, with inscription *Plus Ultra*. This device in course of time has degenerated into the sign which stands at present for American as well as Spanish dollars—\$. The scroll around the pillars represents the two serpents sent by Juno to destroy Hercules in his cradle."

NUMISMATIC

STUYVESANT'S BOUWERY—I saw a statement in some public print a few days ago that no deed existed conveying to Stuyvesant the land on which stands now Mr. Hamilton Fish's residence. This is a mistake. The deed, from the Directors of the West India Company to Petrus Stuyvesant, per Jan Jansen Damen, his attorney, dated March 12, 1651, is on record in Volume III., folio 87, New York Colonial Manuscripts, State Library, Albany, N. Y. *

THE FIRST AMERICAN WOOD ENGRAVER [VIII. 511]—The first to practise wood-engraving in America, Dr. Alexander Anderson, as already indicated, was born in the city of New York in 1775. He has been styled, not inappropriately, "the American Bewick." Specimens of his work, some of which, indeed, rival the productions of his great English model, will be found in the school books, and in many of the more dignified illustrated books that were published in New York during the early part of the present century. Your correspondent will find a sketch of Dr. Anderson, and of many of the early engravers of America, in "Dunlop's History of the Arts of Design in America," Vol. II. He is also mentioned in "Francis' Old New York." The Moreau Brothers of New York (J. B. and Charles C.), who were loving and enthusiastic admirers of Dr. Anderson, possess a great mass of interesting and valuable material relating to him, as well as a number of his early blocks.

BOOKWORM

[The *Century* for September has a splendidly illustrated article on Bewick, with many specimens of his work.]

MORTON OF MERRY MOUNT—It is to be hoped that the persecuted and maligned "pettifogger" of Gray's Inn, Mr. Thomas Morton, will be justly dealt with hereafter by the historical student, and your article should be the herald of an era of candor and truth respecting loyal churchmen of the early days. If Morton needs further credentials than those which he received from the hands of Mr. Samuel Maverick relating to the question of title to his lands, I am able to furnish the following from a rare contemporaneous publication. It is entitled "New-England's Vindication," and was "printed for the Author," Henry Gardener, in 1660, and the extract bearing on the point reads thus:

"Then the said Council [for New England] granted sundry Pattents, as to Capt. Willeston [Wallaston], Mr. Tho. Morton, some of Dorchester and others to settle in the Bay of the Machechusets" (p. 2).

The date is not given, but the transaction appears near events of 1620-30. A copy of this tract is in the Carter-Brown Library, Providence, of which I have a literal transcript by courtesy of the custodian.

C. E. B.

[A copy is also in the Lenox Library.]

GROANING BEER—On this subject [III. 694, IV. 70] raised by volume I. of "Sewall's Diary," is partially answered in volume III. p. 328: "Mrs. Dorothy Henchman died very suddenly; she came from a groaning very cheerfull, on Wednesday night about ten o'clock."

BADGES OF MERIT [VII. 298, 460, VIII. 577]—I have seen several dis-

charges with this Badge appended for six years' faithful service, and could furnish the names of the soldiers. That they are not more common, however, may be due to the fact that they were used in applications for pensions. J.

EARLY NEW ENGLAND TOMBSTONES [VIII. 638]—The tombstones in Boston and New England, with the exception of the beech boulder stones, were imported from North Wales quarries until after the Revolution, and in fact until the eighteenth century. The beech boulder is a green slate stone, very hard and close-grained, and was used only during the seventeenth century. It was short and thick, but very homely, and retains the inscriptions almost as perfect as when first lettered. It was taken from the shores of New England and lettered by stonemasons in Boston and Salem. The letters and designs are entirely different from any that were imported. The slate stones imported were brought from Wales, and were principally blue and grayish-blue, with a very few greenish ones, until the early part of the seventeenth century, when the purple stones and old red sandstones were introduced. Purple slate came from the Wales quarries, and the sandstones from Kirkdale and West Derby. It is claimed that some of our early slate stones were imported from the Devonian quarries of Ireland, but I cannot find anything to substantiate the claim that most of the tombstones were lettered in England previous to 1700, though some were cut in this country. Those in this country were cut with large, deep letters, simply the name and date of death, while those cut in Europe had a death's-

head and the skull and cross-bones cut over the inscription. After the seventeenth century the hour-glass and skeleton of death were added, also an occasional cherub. In the eighteenth century the style was changed, and we find the willow and urn predominating. In a pamphlet that I saw some few years ago, I found that in the seventeenth century stonemasons were sent to this country, and that some stones, all finished, were entered free of duties. It is mentioned in particular, in connection with the case of John Buckley, Jr., who died in 1798, that in order to enter the tombstone free of duty, the Collector of the port of Boston, wishing to befriend the family, entered it as a winding-sheet. On looking up this statement I found it correct. After the year 1800 quarries were opened in several parts of Massachusetts, Maine, and Vermont. Most of the stone now used comes from Vermont.

EDWARD MACDONALD

THE NAME OF CONCORD—In respect to the application of this name [VIII. 577] to the famous town recently the home of Emerson and Hawthorne, I have seen it suggested that it was given by those who first settled there with reference to the quiet which they expected to enjoy after their escape from Boston, where, at the time, there was no end of wrangling among the people. *

NEW ENGLISH CANAAN—On this [VII. 510] see Drake's "Boston" (p. 38), who favors the notion that Morton called New England "Canaan" on account of its beauty.

GAD

SOCIETIES

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC, GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY—The first meeting of the season was held September 6th, the President, the Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, Ph.D., in the chair.

The President referred to the recent death of his friend, Hon. Otis Norcross, formerly Mayor of Boston and a life member of this Society. He also announced the death of Hon. Frederic De Peyster, LL.D., President of the New York Historical Society and a corresponding member, and appointed as a committee to prepare resolutions, the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter and the Hon. Nathaniel F. Safford.

Mr. John Ward Dean, in behalf of the committee to prepare resolutions on the death of Colonel Chester, reported the following :

Resolved, That the New England Historic, Genealogical Society has received with feelings of profound regret the sad tidings of the decease of Colonel Joseph Lemuel Chester, D.C.L., LL.D., of London ; that the death of this distinguished antiquary and genealogist is an irreparable loss to the cause of genealogical research, and that we join with kindred societies in this country and in England in expressions of admiration for his great abilities and esteem for his memory. After remarks by Mr. Dean, William B. Trask, President Wilder, and Frederic Kidder, the resolution was adopted.

A. Bronson Alcott delivered an address on Concord. After a brief notice of the history of the town and its representative men, the speaker said he would confine his subsequent remarks to Ralph Waldo

Emerson, the central figure of the town of Concord. He then gave interesting reminiscences of Mr. Emerson, and his intercourse with him. He concluded by reading a poem on his death which he had read on the 22d July last before the Concord School of Philosophy.

The President spoke in commendation of the address of Mr. Alcott, and moved a vote of thanks, which, after remarks by Rev. A. B. Muzzey and Rev. D. G. Haskins, D.D., was adopted.

The librarian reported that during the months of June, July, and August, fifty volumes and 228 pamphlets had been presented to the Society. Among the donations deserving of special notice is an original plan, by Lieutenant John Montresor, of the British army, of the route of his expedition on snow-shoes in the winter of 1760 from Quebec to the southern coast of Maine, the journal of which expedition was printed in the *Historical and Genealogical Register* in January last. This autograph plan was presented, through Mr. G. D. Scull, of Oxford, England, by Colonel H. E. Montresor, of England, a descendant. The journal of a subsequent summer expedition was used by General Arnold in his expedition against Quebec. Several important genealogies have been received from the authors, among them the Leete family of England (which traces the pedigree of Governor William Leete of Connecticut to his grandfather), by Joseph Leete, F.S.S., of South Norroy, England ; the Slocum family, by Charles E. Slocum, Ph.D., of Syracuse, N. Y., and the Jordan family, by Tristram F. Jordan, of Metuchin, N. J.

The report of Rev. Increase N. Tar-

box, D.D., was read in his absence by the Secretary. Memorial sketches of the following-named deceased members were reported: Joseph Edmund Bulkley, a corresponding member, who was born at Rocky Hill, Connecticut, February 9, 1812, and died in New York City, November 3, 1879; Alfred Mudge, a resident member, who was born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, April 25, 1809, and died at Hull, Massachusetts, August 14, 1882; Hon. Frederic De Peyster, a corresponding member, born in the city of New York in the autumn of 1796, and died at Rose Hill, Dutchess County, August 18, 1882; and Hon. James Diman Green, a resident member, who was born in Malden, Massachusetts, September 8, 1798, and died at Cambridge, August 18, 1882.

NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY—This Society has lately come into possession of the quaint old cane used by Francis Lewis, one of the signers, ever since he came to America in 1735, or about seventy years. William J. Miller, Esq., of New Haven, was the donor. Mr. Miller has also presented the Society with the plume, powder-horn, and drumsticks used by his ancestor, Peter Miller, in several battles of the Revolution. In the powder-horn is the same powder which remained in it when the drummer came home from the army upon the declaration of peace. The Society, the increase of whose membership and library has been quite marked within the past year or two, will issue its third volume of papers and proceedings during the present season.

LITERARY NOTICES

THE OLD BURYING-GROUND OF FAIRFIELD, CONN. A memorial of many of the early settlers in Fairfield, and an exhaustive and faithful transcript of the inscriptions and epitaphs on 583 tombstones found in the oldest burying-ground now within the limits of Fairfield, with brief notes and illustrations of five eras of tombstone embellishment, by KATE E. PERRY. Also an account of the "Rebuilding of the Tombs," July 8, 1881, by WILLIAM A. BEERS. Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing Company, 1882. 12mo, pp. 241.

OLD COPP'S HILL AND BURIAL GROUND; WITH HISTORICAL SKETCHES. By E. MACDONALD, Superintendent of Copp's Hill, March 1, 1882. Boston: Published by the author. 8vo, pp. 48.

KINGS COUNTY GENEALOGICAL CLUB COLLECTIONS. Vol. I, No. 1.—Inscriptions on Tombstones in Cemetery of Reformed Dutch Church, New Utrecht, L. I. No. 2.—Inscriptions on Tombstones in Cemetery of Reformed Dutch Church, Flatlands, L. I., and Private Cemeteries adjoining. No. 3.—Inscriptions on Tombstones in Cemetery of Reformed Dutch Church, Gravesend, L. I., and Private Cemeteries Adjacent.

Old Fairfield is coming to be one of the best advertised towns in Connecticut, various writers vying with one another in portraying the interest attached in so many ways to this venerable bailiwick. The subject has been pursued with interest and with valuable results. The title-page gives a fair idea of the character of the book, and while the preface admits that such works do not attract publishers, it is truly declared that the time will come when the citizens of Fairfield will be grateful for the preservation of that portion of her history preserved in this book. The authoress has called Mr. Beers to her aid, who bids us "Hark from the tombs" with a cheeriness that could not have been excelled by a member of the firm of the Cheerful Brothers. The anniversary selected for his funeral address and the visit to the old burying-ground fell on a wet day, but the moisture of the atmosphere did not dampen the feelings of the speaker. At the same time his address did not prove dry. The exercises were opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Burroughs, who made "a fervent appeal to the God of our fathers,"

which it was well to state, since otherwise—owing to the manifold changes that have taken place in opinion and practice in old Fairfield—it might have been suspected that the moderns had lapsed to the worship of those dumb idols which Mr. Beers emphatically declares the ancients did *not* worship. In due time Mr. Beers got to his address, in which he said that the oldest decipherable stone reads, "S. M. 1687," identified as the grave-mark of Samuel Morehouse, County Marshal here from 1675 to 1687; and that the no-prayer practice that early characterized Congregational funerals gave place to display and fashion, and that at the obsequies of the wife of one Governor more than a thousand pairs of gloves were given away, necessitating the intervention of the Legislature. The sole instance of burial procedures, however, that Mr. Beers adduces is the following: "It was a hot day, the distance long, the bier, carried on trestles, weighty. Half way one of the bearers cried out, 'Set him down; he's heavy'; and pulling a flask from a convenient pocket, all imbued fresh courage and moved solemnly on," probably after the solemn manner of the speaker, who rounds out the next paragraph of his address, delivered in the Congregational Chapel, with

"Her: lies cut down, like unripe fruit,
The wife of Deacon Amos Shute:
She died of drinking too much coffee,
Anny Dominy seventeen forty."

The address gives a variety of reminiscences, in the course of which the speaker drops defensive words for the "Puritans," quoting the saying that "Puritanism was not canting hypocrisy." He might, however, have improved on this, and said that "Puritanism was not Fairfield Congregationalism," nor even an ism at all; but that the name "Puritan" stood for a certain determinate type of men of the Church of England, and that the people defined by the recognized expounder of New England Congregationalism as Brown-Barrow Separatists were the people who gave Fairfield its early character. The descendants of the "Prime Antient Church" of Fairfield, therefore, have no right to steal the livery of those grand defenders of civil liberty, even when serving "the God of our fathers." Connecticut "Episcopalians," it may be added, do not appear singularly enterprising in allowing such "flat larceny," much less in giving the name away.

The Superintendent of Copp's Hill, though not, like poor *Yorick*, celebrated by the grave-digger in "Hamlet," a fellow of infinite jest, has, nevertheless, made an interesting compilation, and visitors to the North End of Boston will do well to drop, not into one of Mr. MacDonald's tombs, of which he has a number to let, but into his office, where they may get a copy of his book, and, by its aid, look up the many interesting monuments found on the Hill. The book by Bridgman, his predecessor, was equally valuable

and dull. The Hill appears in history as early as 1621; at least this appears to be the "Cliff" under which the Plymouth exploring party landed and found the sachem to be "Abbatimwat." It was the second place of interment, King's Chapel being the first. The date of the first interment is unknown, but the oldest stone bears the date of 1661. Here is to be seen the tombstone of Grace Berry, who died in Plymouth May 17, 1625, which Mr. MacDonald, not with sufficient reason, we apprehend, thinks was brought from Plymouth. Here, also, may be seen the Mather tomb, a very interesting relic, overshadowed by a willow grown from a slip brought from St. Helena. But it would be impossible to enumerate a tithe of the objects that here interest the antiquarian mind, while in the immediate vicinity are various old churches, such for instance as Christ Church, which also have their claim, and which are duly noticed in this book. Copp's Hill is Mr. MacDonald's pet theme, and he has discovered many old memorial stones. He will have it, however, that Robert Newman, the sexton of Christ Church, was the person who hung out the lantern which sent Paul Revere on his midnight ride.

Respecting the third publication in the above list, it may be said that the three issues make forty-three pages of closely compacted and abbreviated memoranda, which are given without note or comment. Unlike the Fairfield volume, this publication gives no inscriptions, and whoever wishes to know the reading of any particular stone must discover it outside of the Club's "Collections." He need not dwell upon either the advantages or disadvantages of the plan which gives the largest number of facts in the least possible space. Mr. W. H. Stillwell, of Brooklyn, is the manager of this serial, which may be bought of Mr. E. W. Nash, New York. The Club is at work in very interesting localities. *

ATLANTA. BY JACOB D. COX, LL.D.,
LATE MAJOR-GENERAL, Commanding Twenty-third Army Corps. New York: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, 1882. 16mo, pp. 274.

By the fall of Vicksburg the Southern Confederacy received a staggering blow, and the occupation of Atlanta by Sherman was in reality its *coup de grace*. Appomattox added nothing to the certainty of its extinction and death, though it may have hastened the time when its dying struggles should end. When General Sherman entered Atlanta he took a position between the army of General Lee in Virginia and the Southern granary—between the house and the smokehouse. If he could hold it the question of the final submission of the last vestige of the Confederate armies was settled. They must surrender or starve. There was no necessity for the striking of another blow, for the shedding of another

drop of blood, or for the loss of another life. All that was needed was to have a little patience, and sit still. The raid through Mississippi and Alabama, the March to the Sea, and Appomattox, however much they may have added to our military fame, were in reality mere surplausage, and only served to illustrate the line of the poet, "And thrice he slew the slain." On September 1, 1864, when Atlanta surrendered, General Lee was drawing the supplies for his army from the Alabama canebrake, and the railway stations were filled with bags of corn destined for Virginia, as we ourselves saw. There was but one channel of communication left intact—the railroad that passed through Atlanta. Upon that road Sherman with his army had sat down. He could not be moved by any force which could be brought against him, and it was the almost universal feeling in the South that the war was at an end. The campaign, then, that resulted in the fall of Atlanta was, in one sense, the decisive campaign of the war. It was brilliant in a high degree—a campaign where there was a good deal of unnecessary fighting, attended with severe losses on both sides, but whose object was almost entirely obtained by strategy. The Federal forces outnumbered the Confederates by more than two to one, and however strong were the positions which General Johnston took, and impregnable to assault, as he proved again and again, he was outflanked every time and obliged to abandon them one by one. He was one of the ablest of the Southern generals, second, perhaps, only to Lee, but with his inferior force all he could do was to interpose months of delay between the impatient Sherman and his objective point. This he did by intrenching and fortifying as he retreated, and no sooner was he compelled to evacuate one stronghold than he was found possessed of another a little farther to the south. Thus, gradually, both armies approached Atlanta, and Jefferson Davis, with great folly, superseded General Johnston, and gave the command to General Hood. He soon justified what President Lincoln said, that it was never a good thing to swap horses when crossing a river. He led the army to quick destruction, and Atlanta was won. No more competent historian of the campaign of Atlanta could have been found than General Cox. He was an actor in it, and had every facility for learning the facts and details which he has so graphically described. One follows with unabated interest the march from Chattanooga and the account of the battles and assaults by the way of Dalton, Resaca, New Hope Church, Kenesaw, Atlanta, and Alatoona. The author writes like a historian and not like a partisan, and the result is that we have one of the most valuable books of the series of the "Campaigns of the Civil War." He gives us what we need—the facts—and leaves us to form our own conclusions and to mete out praise and blame according to our own judgments.

ments. He has thus given interest and value to his work, and whoever reads "Atlanta," by General Cox, will be glad to know that the same pen is to be assigned to the "March to the Sea."

THE ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND.

By HENRY M. CIST, Brevet Brigadier-General, U. S. V. New York: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, 1882. 16mo, pp. 289.

Despite some of its glaring faults, the seventh volume of the "Campaigns of the Civil War" is scarcely less full of interest than its predecessors, General Cist was on the staff of Generals Rosecrans and Thomas. He was Secretary of the Army of the Cumberland, and has had ample opportunity to familiarize himself with its history, even down to minute details. He has diligently studied its various movements, and gives an intelligible account of them and of the various battles in which he was engaged, such as Perryville, Stone's River, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, Lookout Mountain, and Missionary Ridge, battles where as much valor and heroism were displayed as in any engagement of the war, and where victory was as hardly won, but which, nevertheless, seemed to lead to no corresponding results. The army was led from the Tennessee River back to Perryville, and forward to Stone River and Tallahassee, but never seemed to reach any vital point. It did not march to the sea with Sherman, nor find an Appomattox with Grant. It, nevertheless, played an important part in the civil war, and was led by Rosecrans and Thomas, who were among the ablest generals in the Federal army. The story is full of interest, while the author confines himself to facts. The more is the pity that he should spend so much space in criticism and argument. It is here that he sinks the historian and the judge into the partisan and the advocate. The Army of the Tennessee is evidently his *bête noire*—it is the rival in the race for fame of the Army of the Cumberland, and General Cist feels called upon at every turn to laud the one and to disparage the other. This detracts very much from the value of the work, for it is not always easy to tell how far the author's prejudices color his facts. He may be unconscious of the partisanship, but it exists none the less, and to others than himself is visible at every turn. It is the more to be deplored, because it is so unnecessary. The Army of the Cumberland is assured of its deserved fame. It did some of the best fighting of the war, and what it needed was a historian, not an advocate. The work of General Cist has many and great merits, but it must be read with care, and with a consciousness of the bias under which he writes.

THE NEW TESTAMENT OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST.

Translated out of the Original Greek; and with the former

Translations Diligently Compared and Revised. Containing the Authorized Version, commonly called "the King James Version," and the Revised Version, arranged in parallel columns for comparison and reference. Also containing the Notes of the New Version; Readings preferred by the American Committee; History of the Committee on Revision; Chronology of the New Testament; Index to Subjects; Chapter headings and running head-lines. Philadelphia: PORTER & COATES, 1882, 8vo, pp. 690.

If the famous Justinian Psalter properly takes its place in the list of *Americana*, much more should a work of this description win suitable notice in a magazine of American history. It is essentially a part of our literary and ecclesiastical history, and, as such, may have its place in working libraries. With the theological questions and textual criticism THE MAGAZINE has nothing to do, and our task is the limited one of indicating how the editor has planned his work. On this point we can award nothing but praise. The volume is as complete as it could well be made, while the typography meets the wants of the eye. Its distinctly American character arises from the fact, that the "Readings of the American Committee" which were not adopted are given in an appendix, besides being conveniently placed as footnotes. This comparative volume, as a piece of literary history, is invaluable, while the multiplication of such issues indicates the firm hold which the New Testament has upon the people.

THE YEAR-BOOK OF THE COLLEGIATE REFORMED PROTESTANT DUTCH CHURCH OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. pp. 82. PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY, 1882.

The settlement of the Dutch and Walloons in New Netherlands dates from 1623. Thus first religious meetings were held in a loft over a horse-mill, and in 1633 their first church was built, Domine Bogardus having come out from Holland. Such was the origin of this great and wealthy religious corporation which now sustains seven churches and chapels, and of whose Christian work the Year-Book gives an account. In an appendix we have a history of the first English psalm-book, published in 1767, with a *fac-simile* of the title-page and of the first Psalm set to music. There is also a reprint of what might be called a proclamation of a day of thanksgiving and prayer. It is dated December 31, 1682, and was to be observed Sunday, January 7, 1683. An address to Governor Clinton, in 1743, with his reply, are also printed in the appendix. A portrait of Rev. Gualterus Du Bois, in flowing wig, gown, and bands, illustrates the

Year-Book. He became a colleague of the Dutch Church in 1699, and, upon the death of Henricus Selyns, he became the sole minister. It is an interesting fact that Domine Du Bois baptized Samuel Prevoost, when a child, who was afterward Rector of Trinity Church and first Bishop of New York. The Year-Books of corporations like the Collegiate and Trinity Churches, it is easy to see, may be made valuable contributions to our history.

CELEBRATED AMERICAN CAVERNS, ESPECIALLY MONMOUTH, WYANDOT, AND LURAY. Together with Historical, Scientific, and Descriptive Notices of Caves and Grottos in other Lands. By HORACE C. HOVEY. With Maps and Illustrations. Cincinnati: ROBERT CLARKE & CO., 1882, 8vo, pp. 228.

In more respects than one America is a land of marvels, yet whatever may be said of the scenes above ground, the subterranean regions certainly abound with wonders of the most extraordinary description, while the volume before us gives an appropriate introduction to the fairy land that lies in that darksome region generally associated with perpetual night. The author appears to have given much attention to the great American caverns, and gives valuable information respecting their situation, extent, and characteristics. A large portion of the volume is made up of fresh material, and more than forty illustrations add to the interest and usefulness of the work, though it is not to be expected that every reader will be convinced of the truth of every theory herein set forth.

GENERAL BUTLER IN NEW ORLEANS. History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the year 1862; with an Account of the Capture of New Orleans, and a Sketch of the Previous Career of the General, Civil and Military. By JAMES PARTON. Seventeenth Edition. 8vo, pp. 661. Boston: HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & COMPANY, 1882.

This book was written in General Butler's house at Lowell, where the author was offered every facility for his work, the General giving him access without reserve to all his papers, though abstaining from all interference respecting the composition. The book is very interesting, as a matter of course; and if Mr. Parton sees things with his own eyes, it is not because his hero made this course the subject of a particular request. A good case is made out for the General, but at the present time criticism is hardly required, while his career is one that will not soon cease to interest the general reader.

REV. JOHN JONES, FIRST MINISTER OF THE OLD TOWN OF FAIRFIELD, CONN. By WILLIAM A. BEERS. pp. 17. Bridgeport, 1882.

In this paper, which was prepared for the Fairfield County Historical Society, and read before that body, March 10, 1882, the author has given much interesting information concerning the early settlement and religious history of the town, and a very faithful personal sketch of its first minister, the Rev. John Jones, a native of Wales, who was settled at Fairfield in October, 1644, and had an unbroken pastorate in that town of more than twenty years. Of his eleven successors in that town, one continued twenty-seven years, one thirty-eight years, one forty years, another thirty-one years. The average retention of office has been almost exactly twenty years, and not one has been removed except by death or his own free will—"a record," says Mr. Beers, "almost without parallel in ecclesiastical annals."

ANTIQUITIES OF THE PARISH CHURCH OF JAMAICA (including Newtown and Flushing). Illustrated from Letters of the Missionaries and other Authentic Documents, with a Continuation of the History of Grace Church to the Present Time. By HENRY ONDERDONK, JR., A.B., University of Cambridge; A.M., Columbia College. Jamaica, N. Y. : CHARLES WELLING, 1880. 8vo, pp. 162.

This work by an antiquary of great diligence and patience will be found very useful and entertaining, embodying as it does the results of years of research. It contains portraits of the Rev. Thomas Poyer, Bishops Seabury, Provost, and Moore, Rufus King, the Rev. Drs. Johnson and Sayers, Dr. Lewis E. A. Eigenbrot, Governor John A. King; together with three views of Grace Church, Jamaica, and St. George's, Hempstead. The book is of more than local interest.

RE-DEDICATION OF THE OLD STATE-HOUSE, BOSTON, JULY 11, 1882. Boston : Printed by order of the City Council, 1882. 8vo, pp. 77.

This event [VIII. 41] was the occasion of a very full and minute address by the well-known antiquary, Mr. William H. Whitmore, who, by way of preparation, entered diligently upon the study of the history of this old and famous building, now happily saved from the vandalism of trade, and made an enduring monument of the colonial period. Still this monument, standing at the head of State Street, and well known to every passer-by, is the second building that has

occupied the site. The first was that of 1658, which was destroyed in 1711. In 1713 it was rebuilt, the style indicating the period of Queen Anne. Mr. Whitmore has laid the public under debt by his careful researches into the history of the Old State-House. The address is accompanied by remarks by Mayor Green and others.

THE MOHEGAN LAND CONTROVERSY. By E. EDWARDS BEARDSLEY, D.D., LL.D. 8vo, pp. 21.

The tract occupied by the Mohegan Indians embraced the present towns of Norwich, Franklin, Sprague, Barroh, Lisbon, and parts of Griswold and Preston. This was the land of the Chief Uncas, which in time, through the bad management of the Indians and the cunning of the whites, was alienated, and finally resulted in the removal of the tribe to the lands of the Oneidas, in New York. The story is told with considerable detail, but there is little in the record that reflects much credit upon the justice of the whites, who in New England, as a rule, regarded the red man in the light of a natural enemy. We must object, however, to the statement that the Pilgrims in 1620 gave the name to the place now called Plymouth, which appears as "New Plymouth" in the map of Captain John Smith, the name having been given in 1616 by Prince Charles.

MAJOR NATHAN GOLD, OF THE OLD TOWN OF FAIRFIELD, CONN. A summary of his important public services in the colony of Connecticut. Delivered at Memorial Library, July 8, 1882, by WILLIAM A. BEERS. July, 1882. Printed by request of citizens of Fairfield. 4to, pp. 24.

About two hundred years ago the Rev. Joseph Webb preached two sermons upon the death of Major Gold, "one of the pious magistrates of Connecticut Colony," in neither of which is there the slightest reference to the said Major ; but Mr. Beers has made ample compensation for this oversight, and in his well-written address shows his relation to history, indicating that he was the foremost man in his town and a leading figure in Connecticut during the latter half of the seventeenth century, among other things exciting Leisler to hold to his disastrous course in New York.

THE YEAR-BOOK OF THE CITY OF CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA. 8vo, pp. 38o. 1881.

This volume is filled with many signs of municipal prosperity, the city being under the mayoralty of the Hon. William A. Courtenay. It

shows, among other things, that the taxable values have advanced from \$20,796,398 in 1879 to \$22,427,057 in 1881. The city debt in 1849 was \$388,232.54. In 1855 it was \$3,549.927.54. In 1870 it stood at \$5,241,709.77. A further liability of two millions was authorized, but only a small portion was incurred, and, in accordance with the advice of Mayor Courtenay, the Legislature modified the city charter so as to prevent the accumulation of further indebtedness. The various departments appear to be well organized, and the city is evidently making headway, notwithstanding the embarrassments resulting from the war.

**FLY-FISHING IN MAINE LAKES; OR,
CAMP-LIFE IN THE WILDERNESS.** By
CHARLES W. STEVENS. 16mo, pp. 201.
Boston: A. WILLIAMS & Co., 1881.

In sixteen chapters Mr. Stevens gives us many sketches of some of his fishing experiences in the Maine woods and lakes. The chapters are records of separate adventures. Thus the book is not an artistic work, so to speak, having continuous treatment and interest; it is a series of pictures—some of them, we must say, rather inadequate—of the various fishing grounds in a State already distinguished as a tourists' and anglers' resort. The region described is that of the Richardson and Rangeley lakes, and the head waters of the Androscoggin, the best piece of writing in the book being the description of the Pormachenee Lake. Altogether it is a pleasant addition to the goodly library of anglers' books.

**CHICAGO BAR ASSOCIATION LEC-
TURES.** Part one. Chicago: FERGUS PRINT-
ING COMPANY, 1882, pp. 104.

This issue contains (I.) "Recollections of Early Chicago and the Illinois Bar," by the Hon. Isaac Arnold; (II.) "Recollections of the Bench and Bar of Central Illinois," by the Hon. James B. Conkling; (III.) "The Lawyer as a Pioneer," by the Hon. Thomas Hoyne—all interesting and valuable productions.

**TRANSACTIONS OF THE NEW YORK
ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, 1881-82.** Editor,
ALEXIS A. JULIEN. Published for the Academy.

The paper of the most interest to our readers is that by Professor Newberry on "The Ancient Civilizations of America," though the entire contents of this issue are attractive and most valuable. The Academy is doing a real work and deserves the support of scientific and scholarly men.

**ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF
AMERICA.** Third Annual Report of the Executive Committee, and First Annual Report of the Committee on the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1881-82. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, Boston, May 20, 1882. Cambridge: JOHN WILSON & SON, University Press, 1882, 8vo, pp. 56.

The Report, among other things, gives a forecast of Mr. Bandelier's Report on "Cho-lu-lu." It is stated that Mr. Bandelier is now investigating the Pueblos, and that Mr. Ayme is engaged in Yucatan. The success of the Society in recovering the famous temple of Assos is regarded as the main achievement of the year.

EARLY CHICAGO REMINISCENCES. By CHARLES CLEAVER, ESQ. Revised from the Chicago Tribune. Chicago: FERGUS PRINTING COMPANY, 1882, 12mo, pp. 52.

**WINTER IN THE WEST: LETTERS
DESCRIPTIVE OF CHICAGO AND VICINITY, IN
1833-4.** By CHARLES FENNO HOFFMAN. Reprint, with the original and new Notes. Chicago: Fergus Printing Company, 1882, 12mo, pp. 64.

These two pieces form numbers 19 and 20 of the Fergus Historical Series, now being brought out in a neat and inexpensive form, and presenting a good opportunity for collectors.

**THE ROMANCE OF HISTORY IN "THE
BLACK COUNTY," AND THE ROMANCE OF
WAR IN THE CAREER OF GENERAL ROBERT
SMALLS, "THE HERO PLANTER."** By CHARLES COWLEY, Lowell, Mass., 1882. 8vo, pp. 12.

This very interesting *brochure* is by the author of "Leaves from a Lawyer's Life Afloat and Ashore," and worthy of careful preservation, though few, perhaps, would gather its scope from the title.

**MISCELLANEOUS, LITERARY, SCIENTIFIC, AND HISTORICAL NOTES, QUERIES,
AND ANSWERS, FOR TEACHERS, PUPILS,
PRACTICAL AND PROFESSIONAL MEN.** N. B. WEBSTER, Norfolk, Va. S. C. and L. M. GOULD, Manchester, N. H. 8vo, pp. 16, Vol. I, No. I.

If carried out this publication will prove useful and entertaining.

THE TITUS FAMILY IN AMERICA. Three generations. By the Rev. ANSON G. TITUS, Jr., Weymouth, Mass.

This is an interesting reprint from the *Register* of the New England Society, tracing the family from the first of the name in America, Robert Titus, born in Hertfordshire, England, in the year 1600.

THE WAR OF 1886 BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN. Cincinnati: ROBERT CLARKE & CO., 1882. 12mo, pp. 25.

A review of this piece would anticipate matters, and we therefore turn over the warning or jest, according as the anonymous author may regard it, to politicians who think that bluster is equivalent to defence.

OHIO: A SKETCH OF INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS. By JOHN SHORT, Ph.D., Professor in the State University, Columbus. A. H. SMYTHE, publisher, 1882. 16mo, pp. 56.

This is a very interesting and able review, extending from the period of La Salle down to the present time.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF GREENE TOWNSHIP, HAMILTON COUNTY, OHIO. Delivered by C. REEMELIN, before the twenty-third annual festival of the Greene Township Harvest Home Association, August 31, 1882. Cincinnati: ROBERT CLARKE & CO., 1882. 8vo, pp. 33.

NEWLY DISCOVERED FOURTH OF JULY ORATION, by the illustrious orator and statesman, DANIEL WEBSTER, delivered at Fryeburg, Me., in the year 1802, and now for the first time given to the public, Boston, Mass.: A. WILLIAMS & CO., 1882. pp. 16.

CIRCULARS OF INFORMATION OF THE BUREAU OF EDUCATION. No. 1. 1882. The Inception, Organization, and Management of Training Schools for Nurses. 8vo, pp. 28. Washington: GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, 1882.

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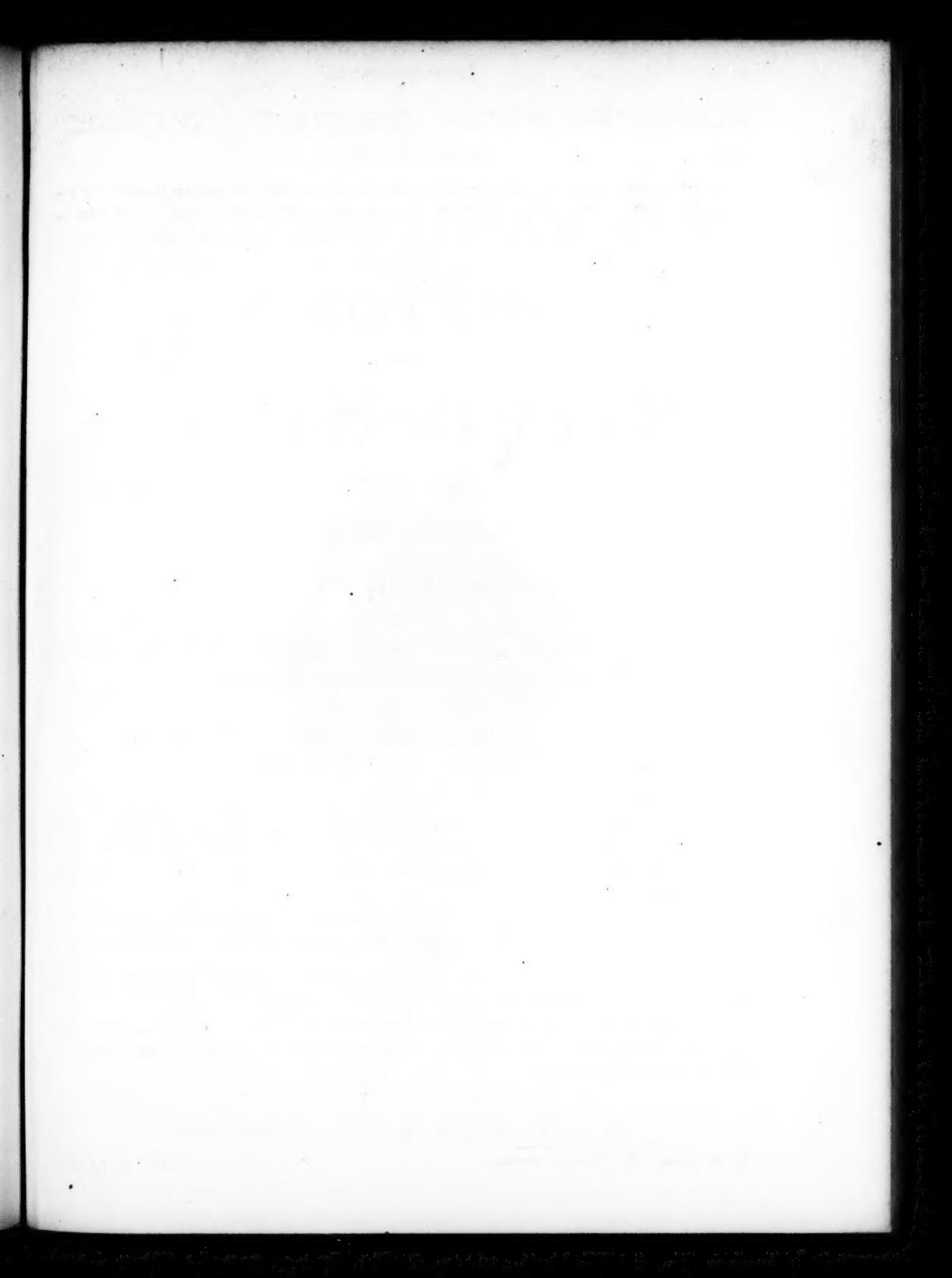
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COLONEL VARICK AND ARNOLD'S TREASON

THERE are still living a few old New Yorkers who will remember Colonel Richard Varick, an early mayor of the city, and before that one of Washington's military secretaries. His full-length portrait hanging in the reception hall of the Bible Society, of which he was once president, bears out the traditional recollection of his appearance as a man of commanding stature, with a strong and kindly face and the most courteous ways. He was a type of the solid Dutch-American of post-Revolutionary society, who took pride in the new political life here, and settling down as a good citizen, helped along the city's progress by busy and orderly methods, filling public stations, and, in later years, quietly devoting himself to social and benevolent projects. His stock, so far as he was a benefactor, at least, has happily not run out with us, as one may see in many evidences of both moderate and princely liberality since his day.

With Varick's name are associated certain hitherto unchronicled episodes of Arnold's treason; and it is to these, as being of special historical interest, that the present paper is, in the main, devoted. The colonel's long and useful career—and a further biographical notice will be made in the closing pages—was varied in his early and military days with a novel and all but tragic experience. If it is an old topic, the Hudson "Melodrama" of 1780—a very threadbare topic indeed—all the more reason for weaving into it some new threads. For once, too, the hapless André is out of the scene, itself a new feature, and we are left to contemplate the arch-traitor within his own sinister environment. There are some things both curious and interesting among these additional incidents, if they are not also valuable as furnishing clues, or reconciling matters which have never been satisfactorily explained.

As private secretary to General Schuyler, and then mustering officer to the Northern Department, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, Varick was thrown in contact with, and had come to admire Arnold as an officer of uncommon spirit and courage in the field, and presumably devoted to the